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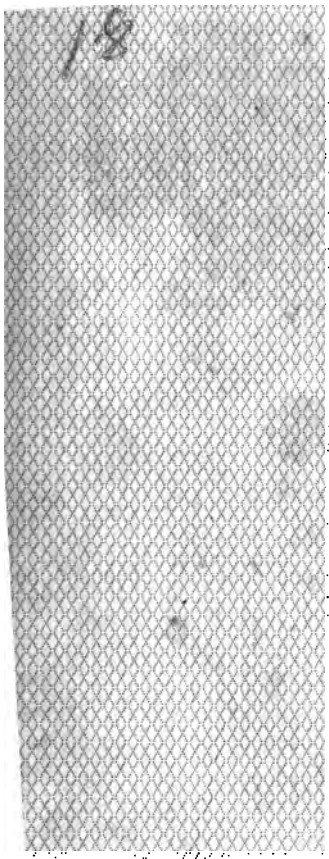

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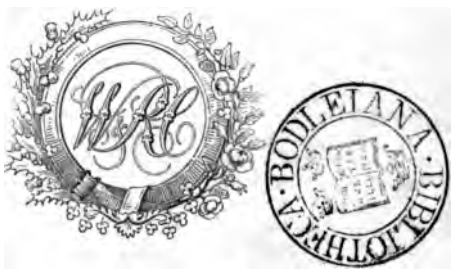

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PREFACE.

THE text of the twelve orations in this collection is mainly based upon that of Orelli's edition of Cicero's select orations, which was published at Zurich in 1836. Most of the emendations of R. Klotz (who has published a complete edition of Cicero's orations, Leipzig, 1835–39, 3 vols. 8vo.), which are approved of by Orelli, have been received into the text of the present edition; while the doubtful readings, marked by Orelli with †, have been changed chiefly according to his own suggestions—because it appeared to be inconsistent with the character of a school-book to render the meaning obscure by leaving the reading doubtful, or by printing a passage in a fragmentary form. As far as the notes are concerned, advantage has been taken of the school editions of Otto, Crusius, Weiske, Matthiæ, of Wernsdorf's edition of the Philippics, and of C. G. Zumpt's edition of the orations against Verres, as well as of other editions of particular orations. Use has also been made of the great Neapolitan edition of 1777, in which are printed the commentaries of Muretus, Lambinus, Manutius, Abramius, Hotomannus, Camerarius, Graevius, Garatonius, Ferratius, and others; and in which all that is necessary is so satisfactorily explained, that the more recent commentators have rarely been able to give anything new or better. According to the plan of the series of which this volume forms a part, a biographic sketch of Cicero has been prefixed; but those who wish for further information about the author, must be referred to Middleton's excellent life, which cannot be strongly enough recommended to the student, as the production of an ardent admirer of the great Roman orator, and as a work written in a most amiable spirit.

J. RICHTER.

BERLIN, *April* 1849.

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INTRODUCTION.

M. TULLIUS CICERO was born on the 3d of January B.C. 106, during the consulship of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Caepio, at a villa near Arpinum, a municipium in the south-eastern part of Latium. His family was one of the most ancient and noble of the district, and ranked among the Roman equites. The rough warrior C. Marius was a native of the same township as Cicero; and Cn. Pompey was born in the same year. The origin of the name Cicero is uncertain; though it is more probable that it arose from the cultivation of peas (*cicer*), peculiar to his family—just as other families owed their names to similar occupations—than that it should have been derived from a disfiguring mole resembling a pea.

Cicero received the rudiments of his education in the house of his father, who, far from the bustling turmoil of Rome, in his splendid villa, in a wild and romantic part of the country, devoted his time to study and the education of his sons. As soon as Marcus—who, at an early age, showed extraordinary talents—was sufficiently prepared for the higher branches of study, he was sent to Rome, where his father had a house, and where he devoted himself with zeal, and the most brilliant success, to the study of philosophy and oratory. In these subjects he enjoyed the instructions of the most renowned men of both Rome and Greece. In his sixteenth year he assumed, according to custom, the *toga virilis*, and henceforth became a zealous student of practical eloquence in the Forum; at the same time he pursued the study of the Roman law and of rhetoric with such success, that in his twenty-first year he wrote a work on rhetoric, of which a portion is still extant. The fearful period of the civil war between the parties of Marius and Sulla fortunately did not induce him to exchange

the *pallium* for the *toga virilis:* he remained faithful to the Muses of rhetoric and philosophy; and thus it happened that, being amply prepared, he entered, in his twenty-sixth year, upon his career as a public orator. He distinguished himself in it, almost without interruption, down to his death, displaying his skill and talent in the most varied circumstances, and standing forth as the greatest orator among his contemporaries. His orations—of which fifty-six have come down to us—are the mirror of his political career, and of the most important events of his life, and are at the same time the most brilliant monuments of Latin prose. The fulness and harmony of his thoughts, the masterly manner and clearness with which he handles his subjects, the transparency and variety of forms, the overflowing and brilliant rhetorical diction, and the simple, unaffected narrative—all these qualities excite our admiration, and are found combined in each of his orations; although, according to the opinions of ancient and modern critics, one or other may not have received his last and finishing hand. The statement of an ancient critic, that it is not the speech for Quinctius (his first), nor that for Archias (of Cicero's best period), but those against Verres, Catiline, and M. Antony (the Philippics), which render Cicero's fame immortal, is only an exalted praise, and a recognition of the unrivalled excellence of the last-mentioned orations; in comparison with which, the other productions, which alone would have sufficed to make others renowned, appear less brilliant. But what are we to admire most in Cicero?—the classical beauty of his language, or the fertility of his genius? The extant orations form only the smaller part of his literary productions; we have, besides, a number of rhetorical and philosophical writings—of which it is unnecessary in this place to mention the titles—and an exceedingly rich collection of letters, which to us are the best pragmatical history of his age, and together with the orations, constitute the most authentic commentary on his life. Cicero himself willingly acknowledges that the Greeks—such as Plato, Demosthenes, and their great poets and historians—were his instructors and superiors; and his incessant study of the master-works of the Greeks has unmistakeably stamped upon his own writings the impress of universality and greatness—nay, in his orations he has perhaps even surpassed his models.

The orations contained in the present collection belong, generally speaking, to the most beautiful that Cicero ever delivered. As they comprise the greater part of his political life, we shall take them as the basis of our sketch—not as indicating the different phases of his development as an orator, but as a proof that the author, as a man, is deserving of the highest praise that can be bestowed upon human exertions, and that, amid all the evils

and temptations by which he was surrounded, he maintained his character pure and undefiled.

Soon after his first public appearance as an orator, and after he had already acquired a name and reputation, he left Rome on the advice of his friends; and for the purpose of strengthening his health, travelled through Greece and Asia Minor, where he formed acquaintances and friendships with the most celebrated rhetoricians and philosophers. On his return he offered himself as a candidate for the quaestorship; and at the age of thirty, B. C. 75, went as quaestor to Lilybaeum in Sicily, under the praetor Sex. Peducaeus. In his speeches against Verres, and elsewhere, he speaks with great satisfaction of the conscientious and disinterested manner in which he discharged the duties of his office. A few years later, C. Verres became praetor of Sicily, and the Sicilians chose Cicero, who was then trying to obtain the aedileship, for their legal defender—a fact which is the best testimony for his conduct as quaestor. The manner in which Cicero answered their expectations is explained in the introduction to the oration against Verres, and we shall only add, that in that speech we find a type of both a manly and oratorical indignation, which in subsequent orations on kindred topics reappears in a similar style, and may be regarded as a proof of the consistent and unflinching nature of Cicero's moral character. In the year B. C. 69, Cicero obtained the aedileship; and three years later, B. C. 66, he was praetor urbanus. While invested with this office, he delivered, among other speeches, the splendid oration for the Manilian bill (*pro lege Manilia*). The veneration for Pompey which he showed on that occasion was entertained by him throughout his life. Having Caesar before his eyes, he could not but look upon Pompey as the pillar of the republic and the old aristocracy; but whether he was right in so doing, is a question which, considering the historical facts of the case, it is difficult to decide. Pompey was no less ambitious and anxious to obtain power than his great opponent, and his defeat could raise him only in the eyes of one who was an enthusiastic admirer of the ancient forms of the republic.

In B. C. 63, when he was forty-three years old, Cicero obtained the consulship; and that year forms the culminating point of his political activity. The discovery and suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy procured for him the gratitude of all well-disposed Romans, and the love of the people; but at the same time drew upon him the hatred of many of the nobles. In his speeches against Catiline, Cicero often alludes to the secret friends of Catiline, and to the dangers to which he was exposing himself by his resolutely combating the conspirators. His apprehensions became speedily realised; for a few years later, he

was crushed by the intrigues of the tribune P. Clodius, who, favoured even by Caesar, accused him of having, in his consulship, caused Roman citizens (the accomplices of Catiline) to be put to death, contrary to law, and without a trial; and who, in spite of the reluctance of the people, caused—in conjunction with the consuls L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius—Cicero to be exiled, B.C. 58, having previously carried a law by which these proceedings became legalised. During his exile, Cicero resided at Thessalonica with the quaestor Cn. Plancius; but he returned after an absence of sixteen months; and the hearty welcome which he met with was a compensation and consolation for the wrong he had suffered.

The history of the years which then followed is best illustrated by his letters; they show how he watched the steps of Caesar, and how he judged of the course of events. His attaching himself more and more closely to the party of Pompey was no more than consistent. After the death of M. Crassus, who had fallen in the war against the Parthians, Cicero, by the unanimous desire of the augurs, became a member of their college, a dignity to which only the first and most tried men of the republic were admitted. Two years after this he also displayed his talents as a military commander; for having obtained the proconsular administration of the province of Cilicia, he defended that country so successfully against the attacks of the Parthians, that after he had defeated the enemy in a decisive battle at the foot of Mount Amanus, his soldiers saluted him with the title of *imperator*. This happened in B.C. 51, and the senate honoured him on his return with a triumph.

During the distressing years of the civil war between J. Caesar and Cn. Pompey which now followed, Cicero indeed sometimes appears uncertain what to do; but his conduct is never equivocal. He remained faithful to the cause of Pompey; and at first entertained the hope that the party to which he belonged would come forth victorious from the struggle. Before the commencement of the decisive contest, he endeavoured to reconcile the two great antagonists with each other; but at last, when every hope of preserving peace had disappeared, he followed his friend Pompey to Greece. It was in vain that many of his most distinguished and well-meaning friends cautioned him against an act of open hostility to Caesar; for he remained firm and determined. He did not, however, take any part in the battle of Pharsalus, in B.C. 48; and as soon as he was informed of the unfortunate issue of the contest, and of the flight of Pompey, he returned to Italy, and remained for a time at Brundusium. Caesar himself had requested him, through Dolabella, to return. Subsequently Cicero repented of this step, and endeavoured to excuse himself before

his friends for this separation from Pompey. Meanwhile Caesar continued his victorious career, having sent M. Antony to Italy to watch his interests at Rome. Antony, who met Cicero at Brundusium, spared the partisan of Pompey, though probably not of his own accord. From Brundusium Cicero betook himself to his villa near Tusculum. Soon after he returned to Rome; and although he did not lose sight of the events which took place at the time, he sought comfort and relaxation among his old and faithful friends—his books.

Towards the end of July B.C. 47, the victorious dictator, J. Caesar, returned to Rome from his wars in Egypt and Asia, and showed himself forgiving and kind towards Cicero. Caesar's clemency is praised by Cicero in the two orations for Ligarius and King Deiotarus, both of which belong to this period, B.C. 46 and 45. The glowing admiration—nay, deification of Caesar—in these orations, is not the adulation of a calculating rhetorician; for Cicero, as well as all his contemporaries, knew Caesar's greatness as a general, his extraordinary acquirements, and intellectual superiority; but he detested his unmeasured love of dominion: he hated the tyrant. He unreservedly expressed his joy at the murder of Caesar; nor did he afterwards conceal it before M. Antony, Caesar's successor; and his Philippics furnish an eloquent testimony of his unalterable aversion against the enemies of the republic. Every enemy of M. Antony was welcome to him, the hatred against whom made him an ardent admirer of Caesar Octavianus, who, from the first, pursued the same course to which Caesar had fallen a victim. But this same young man, whom he had looked upon as the brightest hope, and as the saving anchor of the republic, concluded peace and friendship with Cicero's bitterest enemy; and to the alliance between these two Cicero fell a sacrifice, along with the noblest of the senators. The aged orator happened to be staying at his villa near Tusculum, when he was informed of the proscription, containing the names of seventeen senators, and among them those of himself and his brother Quintus. He determined to take to flight; and from his villa of Astura, on the sea-coast, he embarked on board a ship, but was detained by contrary winds: at length, having proceeded as far as Caieta (Gaeta), he landed in order to take rest in his villa near Formiae. But no sooner had he arrived there than he learned that the place was surrounded by soldiers: he fled towards the coast, but was overtaken by the emissaries. The servants who accompanied him offered to defend him, but Cicero forbade it: he ordered the sedan-chair in which he was carried to be put down, and calmly looked at the murderers who were rushing towards him. They were led on by Popilius Laenas, whose life had been once saved by Cicero in a criminal accusa-

tion. Cicero stretched forth his neck as far as he could from the lectica, and bade them accomplish their work, and take what they were seeking. They cut off his head and both hands; and Popilius Laenas hastened to Rome to carry the welcome present to Antony, and received his reward. Antony ordered the head to be nailed to the rostra between the two hands: this was his answer to the Philippics!

Thus died Cicero, on the 7th of December B. C. 43, ten days after the establishment of the triumvirate of Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus, towards the end of the sixty-fourth year of his life.

His fertility as an author during the later years of his life is truly astonishing; nearly all his philosophical writings were composed in the years B. C. 45 and 44, and the latter of them especially was at once the most fruitful and important. It was this uninterrupted occupation with philosophy, with the loftiest and noblest questions of human life, that gave him the strength and calmness with which he calmly looked death in the face.

Cicero was of a tall and thin figure; his neck was particularly long; his features regular and manly, and the expression of his countenance dignified and winning. His bodily constitution was naturally weak; but by a well-regulated mode of life, he had so strengthened it, that he bore with ease the exertions of a public orator, and of an unwearied student, down to his old age. In his domestic life he was amiable towards everybody, indulgent towards his children, kind to his friends, and generous towards his slaves. His domestic establishment was splendid, and his house was the resort of all the distinguished men of the age. During the morning, until ten o'clock, he received visitors; and during the day he worked in his library; the evening was the time for the principal meal and for company. When in the circle of his friends, he was always cheerful, and particularly witty: his sarcasms were celebrated throughout Rome; and Caesar himself is said to have requested that they should be collected and recorded. After Cicero's death, his freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, made a complete collection of his witty and humorous sayings in three books, which are unfortunately lost.

The splendour and variety of his life was heightened by the number of his magnificent villas, in which, notwithstanding the contempt of works of art which he feigns in the speeches against Verres, he testified in the noblest manner his taste and love of the beauties of nature. Most of them were situated on the most exquisite spots, near the beautiful coasts of Campania and Latium; and they were adorned with the finest sculptures of Greek workmanship, and with the most elegant and tasteful furniture. The large sums which Cicero spent upon the erection and

embellishment of these villas, were acquired especially by the numerous and rich legacies which were left to him by friends and clients during the period of his public career; for it was customary at Rome for grateful clients to leave to their patrons a portion of their property, as a token of their gratitude; and to receive such legacies was thought highly honourable. His delight in building, however, as we know from his letters, sometimes led him beyond his means, which obliged him afterwards to economise.

Cicero's love of splendour, though in all the relations of life he was dignified, moderate, and of a strictly moral purity, is nearly akin to his manifest desire to win applause, recognition, and fame. His enemies ridiculed his vanity; but many did not understand that it would have been something superhuman not to feel exalted by the consciousness of his own worth, considering his extraordinary talents, and what he had accomplished. Cicero did not indeed detract from his own merits, nor did he conceal them; but he never exaggerated them.

The family relations of our author were at first happy. In his letters he speaks with great affection of his wife Terentia and his daughter Tullia; but in B. C. 45 his daughter Tullia died, and he divorced his wife. His son Marcus, who survived him for many years, was not worthy of his great father.

We cannot conclude this brief outline without mentioning M. Tullius Tiro, the freedman and friend of Cicero, who arranged the literary remains of his illustrious friend with skill and learning.* A large number of Cicero's works has come down to our time; but we have yet to lament the irreparable loss of several orations and theoretical works; for none of the productions of a mind like Cicero's can be looked upon with indifference.

* See the Introduction to the speeches against Catiline.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONES SELECTAE.

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE

SIVE

ACCUSATIONIS IN C. VERREM LIBER QUARTUS.

(DE SIGNIS.)

C. VERRES, concerning whose family and early life we know nothing, obtained the office of praetor urbanus in B. C. 74; and in the year following he obtained by lot the administration of the province of Sicily, which he retained for three successive years—Q. Arrius, who had been appointed his successor, being engaged during that time in the servile war against Crixus and Spartacus. In his previous offices, especially when he was in Cilicia as the legate of the proconsul Cn. Dolabella, Verres had been guilty of acts of the greatest violence, of extortion, plunder, and rapine; his praetorship at Rome was rendered notorious by his arbitrary condemnations, unjust edicts, selfishness and rapacity in superintending and repairing the public buildings; but during his praetorship in Sicily, that rich and fertile island, the granary of Rome and the museum of the choicest works of Grecian art, was almost ruined by his insatiable avarice, his revolting cruelty, and his unblushing injustice. All Sicily rose against him, with the exception of the Mamertines at Messana and the Syracusans, who may have been less oppressed by him, or were perhaps even allowed to share his plunder. Although it might have been said that other Roman governors and officials very frequently indulged in similar avarice, and although Cicero may have described some circumstances with oratorical exaggeration, still the facts were so undeniable, that Verres and his counsel, the great orator Q. Hortensius, despaired of their cause; and Verres escaped the judicial verdict by going into voluntary exile.

The Sicilians, after having determined to bring an action against Verres *for extortion* (*repetundarum*), chose M. Tullius Cicero for

their counsel (*patronus*); for he had already acquired a brilliant reputation by previous pleadings; and they also remembered the faithfulness and conscientiousness which had always distinguished his conduct, when in B. C. 75 he was stationed at Lilybaeum as quaestor of the praetor Sex. Peducaeus. Cicero gladly undertook their case; both on account of its importance and for the sake of his own reputation, which he hoped to raise by defeating an opponent like Q. Hortensius. But he had scarcely accepted the proposal when Q. Caecilius Niger, a Sicilian by birth, who had been quaestor under Verres in Sicily, claimed the right to bring forward the accusation against Verres, by whom he had been personally offended; alleging at the same time that he, as the quaestor of Verres, had had better opportunities of witnessing his conduct; and that, as a Sicilian, he had a better right than any one to come forward against the enemy of his native country. The Sicilians, however, rejected him; for they perceived that he had been bribed. At a preliminary meeting of the court, the question respecting the choice of the accuser was discussed, and on that occasion Cicero delivered his first oration connected with the case—namely, his 'Divinatio in Q. Caecilium'—in which he explained his views, and laid down the principle, that the judges ought to choose as accuser the man desired by those whose case was to be investigated, and not the one desired by the accused. In consequence of this speech, Cicero was forthwith requested to conduct the accusation against Verres. To enable himself satisfactorily to discharge this duty, he asked leave of absence for 110 days, and travelled to Sicily in company with his cousin L. Cicero. There he collected in the several towns all the evidence bearing upon the accusation; and having got together the necessary witnesses, he returned to Italy after an absence of fifty days, although Verres had endeavoured by every possible means to detain him longer in Sicily. Cicero's presence at Rome had in the meantime become necessary; for a numerous party determined to support Verres had been formed among the nobles and senators, who considered it dangerous for themselves and their successors if a *vir praetorius* should be accused and condemned for extortion. Headed by Q. Hortensius and the family of the Metelli, this party tried to put off the trial till the next year, when Hortensius should be consul, and M. Metellus, as praetor, conduct the trial. For that purpose, unimportant cases were taken up and protracted, and public games celebrated, during which no courts of justice were held. These and similar schemes were thwarted by Cicero, who, on the 5th of August B. C. 70, delivered his second speech (or *actio prima*), in which he only brought forward the general accusation of the Sicilians, that Verres, independently of many other crimes, had unlawfully carried away from the province the sum of 40,000,000 of sesterces; he also laid before the court the documents he had obtained in Sicily, and produced the witnesses. Verres declined making any reply to this charge, and went into exile; whereby the trial came to an end. Cicero forthwith set about arranging the ample mate-

rials of the evidence he had collected against Verres; and thus produced five books of orations in which he describes most accurately, and in the most eloquent manner, the official life of Verres. These productions will always remain splendid models of oratorical richness and beauty. The first of them bears the title, *De praetura urbana*; the second, *De judiciis sive de praetura Siciliensi*; the third, *De frumento sive oratio frumentaria*; the fourth, *De Signis*; and the fifth, *De suppliciis*.

From among these speeches the fourth has been chosen for this collection. It contains an enumeration and description of all the works of art which Verres, during his praetorship, had amassed in Sicily — at first taking them forcibly from private persons, and afterwards even from temples and towns. Cicero begins with a Mamertine, an ambassador of the town which intended to support Verres at Rome. But Heius, the ambassador, instead of praising the defendant, comes forward as his accuser (chaps. 1-13); then follow the names of persons who had been robbed—Phylarchus, Pamphilus, M. Caelius, Lyson, Diodorus, Cn. Calidius, L. Papirius, and others (chaps. 13-27); the orator is especially indignant at the robbery committed on Antiochus, king of Syria (chaps. 27-33). Next follows an enumeration of the towns plundered by Verres: Segesta (chaps. 33-39), Tyndaris (chaps. 39-42), Agrigentum, Assorus, Catina, Henna (chaps. 43-52), and especially Syracuse (chaps. 52-59). Cicero, in conclusion, mentions how painful the loss of such treasures must be to a Greek, and that Syracuse would come forward against Verres as soon as an opportunity should offer itself.

The skill with which Cicero contrives to work up the enumeration of all these otherwise unknown persons and small towns into a continuous and attractive narrative is particularly deserving of admiration. The beautiful episodes—as the story of Ceres and Proserpine, the description of Syracuse, the vivid account of the visits between Antiochus and Verres—the transparent disposition of the whole, the richness and variety of expression in describing similar situations—contribute to render this speech the most lifelike and faithful mirror of that time, and cannot fail to attract the attention even of young readers, and sustain their interest in the subject.

VENIO nunc ad istius,[1] quemadmodum ipse appellat, studium; ut amici ejus, morbum et insaniam; ut Siculi, latrocinium. Ego, quo nomine appellem, nescio: rem vobis proponam; vos eam suo, non nominis[2] pondere penditote. Genus ipsum[3] prius cognoscite, judices; deinde fortasse non magnopere quaeretis, quo id nomine appellandum putetis.

[1] *Istius;* that is, *Verris. Studium,* 'intellectual occupation.'

[2] Namely, which I might give to it, and which others have already given to it.

[3] *Genus ipsum; that is, rem ipsam.*

Nego in Sicilia tota, tam locupleti, tam vetere provincia, tot oppidis, tot familiis tam copiosis, ullum argenteum vas, ullum Corinthium aut Deliacum[1] fuisse, ullam gemman aut margaritam, quicquam ex auro aut ebore factum, signum ullum aeneum, marmoreum, eburneum, nego ullam picturam neque in tabula neque in textili,[2] quin conquisierit, inspexerit, quod placitum sit abstulerit. Magnum videor dicere: attendite etiam,[3] quemadmodum dicam. Non enim verbi neque criminis augendi[4] causa complector omnia: cum dico nihil istum ejusmodi rerum in tota provincia reliquisse, Latine[5] me scitote, non accusatorie loqui. Etiam planius:[6] nihil in aedibus cujusquam, ne in oppidis quidem: nihil in locis communibus,[7] ne in fanis quidem: nihil apud Siculum, nihil apud civem Romanum, denique nihil istum, quod ad oculos animumque acciderit, neque privati neque publici, neque profani neque sacri tota in Sicilia reliquisse.[8]

Unde igitur potius incipiam, quam ab ea civitate,[9] quae tibi una in amore atque in deliciis fuit? aut ex quo potius numero, quam ex ipsis laudatoribus tuis?[10] Facilius enim perspicietur, qualis apud eos fueris, qui te oderunt, qui accusant, qui persequuntur, cum apud tuos Mamertinos inveniare improbissima ratione esse praedatus.

2. C. Heius est Mamertinus[11] (omnes hoc mihi, qui Messanam accesserunt, facile concedunt) omnibus rebus illa in civitate ornatissimus. Hujus domus est vel optima Messanae,

[1] Supply *aeneum:* the bronze vessels of Delos and Corinth were celebrated and valuable.

[2] *In textili*, 'in purple embroideries.'

[3] *Etiam* is here used as if the preceding words were, 'that is not enough;' hence 'observe also this.'

[4] *Verbi augendi causa*, 'for the sake of rhetorical amplification,' or 'exaggeration.'

[5] *Latine;* as we should say, 'in plain English;' that is, in a straightforward manner, *non accusatorie.*

[6] *Planius*, 'still more *Latine*,' or 'still more plainly.'

[7] *Loci communes* are public buildings; such as *curiae, fora, basilicae;* as opposed to *fana*, or sacred edifices.

[8] This is certainly plain-speaking; for above Cicero spoke as if Verres had selected the objects for his plunder.

[9] Namely, *Mamertina;* that is, the town of Messana (Messina).

[10] The Mamertines alone had praised Verres at Rome by their ambassadors, and declared themselves satisfied with his conduct.

[11] The Mamertines, before occupying Messana, dwelt in Campania. In conjunction with others, they formed the army of mercenaries of Agathocles, and in B.C. 282 took forcible possession of Messana. Their *dispute with Hiero of* Syracuse brought about the First Punic War.

notissima quidem certe, et nostris hominibus apertissima maximeque hospitalis. Ea domus ante istius adventum ornata sic fuit, ut urbi quoque esset ornamento. Nam ipsa Messana, quae[1] situ, moenibus portuque ornata sit, ab his rebus,[2] quibus iste delectatur, sane vacua atque nuda est. Erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate[3] in aedibus, a majoribus traditum, perantiquum, in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor, summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quae non modo istum[4] hominem ingeniosum et intelligentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, delectare possent: unum Cupidinis marmoreum Praxiteli.[5]— Nimirum[6] didici etiam, dum in istum inquiro, artificum nomina. Idem, opinor, artifex ejusdemmodi Cupidinem fecit illum, qui est Thespiis propter quem Thespiae visuntur: nam alia visendi causa nulla est. Atque ille L. Mummius,[7] cum Thespiadas,[8] quae ad aedem Felicitatis[9] sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.

3. Verum, ut ad illud sacrarium redeam, signum erat hoc, quod dico, Cupidinis e marmore: ex altera parte Hercules, egregie factus ex aere. Is dicebatur esse Myronis,[10] ut opinor: et certe. Item ante hos deos erant arulae, quae cuivis

[1] *Quae*, equivalent to *quamvis ea*. See *Gram.* § 360, 6.
[2] Namely, as they have been enumerated in chap. 1.
[3] *Magna cum dignitate*, 'which was esteemed very highly.'
[4] That is, *Verrem*.
[5] *Praxiteli* for *Praxitelis*. See *Gram.* § 63. Praxiteles was a native of Paros, one of the Cyclades; according to others he was born at Athens. He flourished about B.C. 364. His most celebrated works were a Venus at Cnidus in Caria, and the Cupid (*Eros*) at Thespiae. It is not impossible that the Cupid mentioned here may have been a copy of the Thespian.
[6] *Nimirum* is here used contemptuously. A knowledge of the arts of music, dancing, painting, and sculpture was considered indispensable in Greece to a man of education, and was highly valued; but the stern Romans looked upon such knowledge with contempt, and Cicero, to please his audience, affects to share their contempt.
[7] *L. Mummius*, surnamed Achaicus, the destroyer of Corinth in B.C. 146.
[8] *Thespiadae* were statues of the Muses by an unknown sculptor.
[9] The temple of Felicitas stood on the north-eastern side of the Forum at Rome.
[10] Myron, a sculptor of Eleutherae, in the north of Attica, flourished about B.C. 430. His statue of Hercules, at first in Samos, was afterwards carried to Rome, and set up in the Circus Maximus. The statue mentioned in our text was perhaps only a copy.

religionem sacrarii significare possent. Erant aenea duo praeterea signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant. Canephoroe[1] ipsae vocabantur. Sed earum artificem, quem?[2] quemnam? Recte admones, Polyclitum[3] esse dicebant. Messanam ut quisque nostrum venerat, haec visere solebat: omnibus haec ad visendum patebant cotidie: domus erat non domino magis ornamento, quam civitati. C. Claudius,[4] cujus aedilitatem magnificentissimam scimus fuisse, usus est hoc Cupidine tamdiu,[5] dum forum diis immortalibus populoque Romano habuit ornatum: et, cum esset hospes Heiorum, Mamertini autem populi patronus, ut illis benignis usus est ad commodandum, sic ipse diligens fuit ad reportandum. Nuper homines nobiles hujusmodi, judices, et quid dico nuper?[6] immo vero modo, ac plane paulo ante vidimus, qui forum et basilicas[7] non spoliis[8] provinciarum, sed ornamentis amicorum; commodis[9] hospitum, non furtis nocentium, ornarent: qui tamen signa atque ornamenta sua cuique reddebant, non ablata ex urbibus sociorum, quatridui[10] causa, per simulationem aedilitatis, domum deinde

[1] *Canephoroe* (*κανηφόροι*) is the name given to the noblest Athenian maidens, who were carefully selected; and at the festivals of Demeter (Ceres), Athena (Minerva), and Dionysus (Bacchus), carried on their heads, in the solemn procession, sacred utensils in baskets.

[2] *Quem?* contemptuously; like *nimirum* above.

[3] Polyclitus, a contemporary of Myron, was a native of Sicyon, or Argos. Two other works of his were celebrated, the one a Hercules, and the other a warrior (*δορυφόρος*).

[4] C. Claudius, surnamed Pulcher, was aedile in B.C. 99: in this capacity he had the superintendence of the public games, and did much in adorning the Forum with statues and paintings. See Livy, ix. 40; Valer. Max. ii. 4, § 6.

[5] *Tamdiu;* namely, so long as he required the ornament for the games. At that time there existed as yet no special buildings or theatres for scenic games and contests.

[6] *Nuper?* Cicero perhaps means C. Antonius, who was his colleague in the praetorship, and afterwards, B.C. 63, in the consulship.

[7] By the side of the Forum there existed at that time two *basilicae*, the *Porcia* and *Opimia:* they were buildings in which courts of justice were held; though they were also employed for meetings which had no official character.

[8] *Non spoliis;* namely, as Verres had done.

[9] *Commodis;* equivalent to *commodatis.*

[10] *Quatridui;* that is, for the four days during which the games were held.

atque ad suas villas auferebant. Haec omnia, quae dixi, signa, judices, ab Heio e sacrario Verres abstulit: nullum, inquam, horum reliquit, neque aliud ullum[1] tamen, praeter unum pervetus ligneum, Bonam Fortunam,[2] ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suae noluit.

4. Pro deum hominumque fidem! quid hoc est? quae haec causa est, quae ista impudentia? Quae dico signa, antequam abs te sublata sunt, Messanam cum imperio nemo venit, quin viderit. Tot praetores, tot consules in Sicilia cum in pace, tum etiam in bello fuerunt: tot homines cujusque modi: non loquor de integris, innocentibus, religiosis: tot cupidi, tot improbi, tot audaces: quorum nemo sibi tam vehemens, tam potens, tam nobilis visus est, qui ex illo sacrario quicquam poscere aut tollere aut attingere auderet. Verres quod ubique erit pulcherrimum auferet? nihil habere cuiquam praeterea licebit? tot domus locupletissimas domus istius una capiet? Idcirco nemo superiorum attigit, ut hic tolleret? ideo C. Claudius Pulcher rettulit, ut C. Verres posset auferre? At non requirebat ille Cupido lenonis[3] domum ac meretriciam disciplinam: facile illo sacrario patrio[4] continebatur: Heio se a majoribus relictum esse sciebat in hereditate sacrorum:[5] non quaerebat meretricis heredem.

Sed quid ego tam vehementer invehor? Verbo uno repellar: *emi*, inquit. O dii immortales! praeclaram defensionem! Mercatorem in provinciam cum imperio[6] ac securibus misimus, omnia qui signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas coëmeret, nihil cuiquam relinqueret! Haec enim mihi ad omnia defensio patefieri videtur, *emisse*. Primum, si id, quod vis, tibi ego concedam, ut emeris, quoniam in toto hoc genere hac una defensione usurus es: quaero, cujusmodi tu judicia[7] Romae putaris

[1] *Neque aliud ullum* neutralises the preceding *nullum*.

[2] *Bonam Fortunam* is said ironically, 'as a good sign for the future.' Hence *noluit*, 'he would (could) not have any good-luck in his house.'

[3] *Lenonis;* that is, *Verris*. There is a play here upon the words *Cupido* and *meretriciam*.

[4] *Patrio*, 'the customary,' 'with which he was familiar.'

[5] *Sacrorum;* that is, *signorum sacratorum*.

[6] Verres was three years in Sicily as propraetor. The *secures* are the emblems of the administrative power possessed by him.

[7] *Judicia*, in the sense of *judices*, here stands in antithesis to *ego;* if the judges acquiesced in your assertion, they would dishonour themselves, and declare themselves unfit to be judges.

esse, si tibi hoc quemquam concessurum putasti, te in praetura atque imperio tot res, tam pretiosas, omnes denique res, quae alicujus pretii fuerint, tota ex provincia coëmisse.

5. Videte majorum diligentiam, qui nihildum etiam istiusmodi suspicabantur; verumtamen ea, quae parvis in rebus accidere poterant, providebant. Neminem, qui cum potestate aut legatione in provinciam esset profectus, tam amentem fore putarunt, ut emeret argentum; dabatur enim de publico: ut vestem; praebebatur enim legibus: mancipium putaverunt; quo et omnes utimur et non praebetur a populo. Sanxerunt, *ne quis emeret*,[1] *nisi in demortui locum*. Si qui Romae esset demortuus? Immo, si quis ibidem.[2] Non enim te instruere domum tuam voluerunt in provincia, sed illum usum provinciae supplere. Quae fuit causa, cur tam diligenter nos in provinciis ab emptionibus[3] removerent? Haec, judices, quod putabant ereptionem esse, non emptionem, cum venditori suo arbitratu vendere non liceret.[4] In provinciis, intelligebant, si is, qui esset cum imperio ac potestate, quod apud quemque esset, emere vellet, idque ei liceret, fore, uti, quod quisque vellet, sive esset venale, sive non esset, quanti vellet auferret. Dicet aliquis, Noli isto modo agere cum Verre: noli ejus facta ad antiquae religionis rationem exquirere: concede, ut impune emerit, modo ut bona ratione emerit, nihil pro potestate, nihil ab invito, nihil per injuriam. Sic agam. Si quid venale habuit Heius, si id, quanti aestimabat, tanti vendidit:[5] desino quaerere, cur emeris.

6. Quid igitur nobis faciendum est? num argumentis utendum[6] in re ejusmodi? Quaerendum est, credo,[7] Heius iste num aes alienum habuerit, num auctionem fecerit: si fecit,[8] num tanta difficultas eum rei nummariae tenuerit,

[1] *Emeret;* supply *mancipium;* that is, *servum.*

[2] *Ibidem;* that is, in the province, on the spot. It was not allowed to fill up the place of a slave who had died at Rome, by taking one from a province.

[3] *Emptionibus;* supply *mancipiorum.*

[4] *Non liceret,* on account of the *imperium* and *fasces.*

[5] *Si-vendidit;* this supposition is refuted by what follows. Heius had nothing to sell, and much less at a price fixed by Verres.

[6] 'Shall we give the matter a thorough investigation?'

[7] *Credo,* whenever introduced into a clause in this manner, has an ironical meaning.

[8] Supply *auctionem;* 'if he actually did sell any of his property by auction.'

tanta egestas, tanta vis presserit, ut sacrarium suum spoliaret, ut deos patrios venderet. At hominem video auctionem fecisse nullam; vendidisse praeter fructus suos nihil unquam; non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse et semper fuisse; si haec contra ac dico essent omnia, tamen illum haec,[1] quae tot annos in familia sacrarioque majorum fuissent, venditurum non fuisse. Quid, si magnitudine pecuniae persuasum est?[2] Verisimile non est, ut ille homo tam locuples, tam honestus, religioni suae monumentisque majorum pecuniam anteponeret. Sunt ista:[3] verumtamen abducuntur homines nonnunquam etiam ab institutis suis magnitudine pecuniae. Videamus, quanta ista pecunia fuerit, quae potuerit Heium, hominem maxime locupletem, minime avarum, ab humanitate,[4] a pietate, a religione deducere. Ita jussisti, opinor, ipsum in tabulas referre:[5] *haec omnia signa Praxiteli, Myronis, Polycliti, HS* VI *milibus et* D[6] *Verri vendita. S.E.P.*[7] Rettulit. Recita ex tabulis.

Juvat[8] me haec praeclara nomina artificum, quae isti[9] ad caelum ferunt, Verris aestimatione sic concidisse. Cupidinem Praxiteli HS MDC![10] Profecto hinc natum est *Malo emere, quam rogare.*[11]

7. Dicet aliquis, Quid? tu ista permagno[12] aestimas? Ego vero ad meam rationem[13] usumque meum non aestimo: verumtamen a vobis ita arbitror spectari oportere, quanti haec eorum judicio, qui studiosi sunt harum rerum, aesti-

[1] Even admitting that he sold everything else, still he cannot have sold this.

[2] Supply *ei.*

[3] 'So it is;' namely, *verisimile non est*, &c.

[4] *Ab humanitate*, 'from his taste for art,' or 'from his refined education;' *a pietate*, 'from his duty towards that which he had inherited from his father;' *a religione*, 'from his duty towards the images of the gods and the *sacrarium*.'

[5] *Referre*, 'to enter into.'

[6] That is, '6500 sesterces,' a miserable sum.

[7] *S.E.P.*; that is, *soluta est pecunia*, 'a receipt is given for the money.'

[8] *Juvat* must perhaps be taken seriously.

[9] *Isti*; namely, the lovers and connoisseurs of works of art.

[10] HS MDC; that is, 1600 sesterces, the fourth part of the cost price.

[11] This was proverbially said of persons who preferred purchasing at a high price to obtaining a thing at a low price by asking or intreating. The expression must here be taken in an ironical sense, the contrary being meant: the low price had been forced upon Heius.

[12] *Permagno*; see *Gram.* § 283.

[13] Compare chap. 2, note 6.

mentur; quanti venire soleant; quanti haec ipsa, si palam libereque venirent, venire possent; denique ipse Verres quanti aestimet. Nunquam, si X. CCCC[1] Cupidinem illum putasset,[2] commisisset, ut propter eum in sermonem hominum atque in tantam vituperationem veniret.[3] Quis vestrum igitur nescit, quanti haec aestimentur? In auctione signum aeneum non maximum[4] HS XL milibus venire non vidimus? Quid, si velim nominare homines, qui aut non minoris, aut etiam pluris emerint? nonne possum? Etenim qui modus est in his rebus cupiditatis, idem est aestimationis; difficile est finem facere pretio, si libidini non feceris. Video igitur Heium neque voluntate, neque difficultate aliqua temporis, nec magnitudine pecuniae adductum esse, ut haec signa venderet; teque ista simulatione emptionis vi, metu, imperio, fascibus,[5] ab homine eo, quem una cum ceteris sociis non solum potestati tuae, sed etiam fidei[6] populus Romanus commiserat, eripuisse atque abstulisse.

Quid mihi tam optandum, judices, potest esse in hoc crimine, quam ut haec eadem dicat ipse Heius? Nihil profecto: sed ne difficilia optemus. Heius est Mamertinus: Mamertina civitas istum[7] publice communi consilio sola laudat:[8] omnibus iste ceteris Siculis odio est; ab his solis amatur: ejus autem legationis, quae ad istum laudandum missa est, princeps est Heius (etenim est primus civitatis): ne forte,[9] dum publicis mandatis serviat, de privatis injuriis reticeat. Haec cum scirem et cogitarem, commisi[10] tamen, judices, Heio: produxi eum prima actione: neque id tamen ullo periculo feci.[11] Quid enim poterat Heius respondere, si

[1] That is, *denariis quadringentis*, 400 denarii, or 1600 sesterces.

[2] *Putasset;* equivalent to *aestimasset, existimasset.*

[3] *Veniret* is perhaps meant as a play upon the preceding *venirent.*

[4] That is, *non ita magnum.* HS XL are 40,000 sesterces.

[5] 'You have abused the powers conferred upon you as a *government officer.*'

[6] *Fides* here is 'honesty.'

[7] *Istum* refers to Verres.

[8] *Sola laudat;* see above, chap. 2.

[9] *Ne forte* is to be taken ironically. 'Perhaps Messana has chosen him, in order that, on account of his official obligations, he might not be able to speak of his private wrongs.' Heius, however, could accomplish both.

[10] Supply *rem;* 'I have left it to him to give whatever explanation he pleased.'

[11] Because I knew the result beforehand.

esset improbus, si sui dissimilis? Esse illa signa domi suae, non esse apud Verrem? Qui poterat quicquam ejusmodi dicere? Ut homo turpissimus esset impudentissimeque mentiretur, hoc diceret, illa se habuisse venalia, eaque se, quanti voluerit, vendidisse. Homo domi suae nobilissimus, qui vos de religione[1] sua ac dignitate vere existimare maxime vellet, primo dixit se istum publice laudare, quod sibi ita mandatum esset: deinde neque se illa habuisse venalia neque ulla condicione, si, utrum vellet, liceret,[2] adduci unquam potuisse, ut venderet illa, quae in sacrario fuissent a majoribus suis relicta et tradita.

8. Quid sedes, Verres? quid expectas? quid te a Centuripina[3] civitate, a Catinensi, ab Halaesina,[4] Tyndaritana, Hennensi, Agyrinensi, ceterisque Siciliae civitatibus circumveniri[5] atque opprimi dicis? tua te altera patria, quemadmodum dicere solebas, Messana circumvenit: tua, inquam, Messana, tuorum adjutrix scelerum, libidinum testis, praedarum ac furtorum receptrix. Adest enim vir amplissimus ejus civitatis, legatus hujus judicii causa domo missus, princeps laudationis tuae: qui te publice laudat: ita enim mandatum atque imperatum est—Tametsi rogatus de cybaea[6] tenetis memoria, quid responderit: aedificatam publicis operis, publice coactis, eique aedificandae publice Mamertinum senatorem praefuisse — Idem ad vos privatim, judices, confugit: utitur hac lege, qua judicium est,[7] communi arce sociorum. Tametsi lex est de pecuniis repetundis,[8] ille se

[1] *Religione;* that is, *fide,* 'trustworthiness,' 'veracity.'

[2] 'If he were allowed freely to express what he wished.'

[3] *Centuripa (orum),* a town south-west of Mount Aetna; *Catana,* the modern Catania, on the coast south of Aetna, and north of Syracuse.

[4] *Halaesa,* on the north coast, north of Aetna; *Tyndaris* was likewise situated on the north coast, east of Halaesa; *Henna,* in the central part of Sicily, south-west of Aetna; *Agyrium,* likewise south-west of Aetna, in the neighbourhood of Henna and Centuripa.

[5] *Circumveniri,* in a hostile sense; namely, to convict and unmask you.

[6] *Cybaea,* a transport ship, built at the expense of the Mamertines at Messena; in it Verres was to convey home the treasures of art which he had amassed. To *rogatus* supply Heius.

[7] 'According to which the trial of Verres is instituted, and which is the *communis arx* of the allies,' because it affords them the only means of recovering that of which they have been robbed.

[8] 'Properly, about money to be reclaimed,' and accordingly acquired in an unlawful manner. The severe law concerning extortion, con-

negat pecuniam repetere, quam ereptam non tantopere desiderat: sacra se majorum suorum repetere abs te dicit: deos penates te[1] patrios reposcit. Ecqui pudor est? ecquae religio, Verres? ecqui metus?[2] Habitasti apud Heium Messanae: res illum divinas apud eos deos in suo sacrario prope cotidiano[3] facere vidisti: non movetur pecunia:[4] denique quae ornamenti causa fuerunt, non requirit: tibi habe Canephoros: deorum simulacra restitue.

Quae quia dixit,[5] quia tempore dato modeste apud vos socius amicusque populi Romani questus est: quia religioni suae non modo in diis patriis repetendis, sed etiam in ipso testimonio ac jurejurando proximus[6] fuit: hominem missum ab isto scitote esse Messanam de legatis unum, illum ipsum, qui navi istius aedificandae publice praefuit, qui a senatu peteret, ut Heius afficeretur ignominia.[7]

9. Homo amentissime, quid putasti? impetraturum te?[8] quanti is a civibus suis fieret, quanti auctoritas ejus haberetur, ignorabas? Verum fac[9] te impetravisse; fac aliquid gravius in Heium statuisse Mamertinos: quam putas auctoritatem laudationis eorum futuram, si in eum, quem constet verum pro testimonio dixisse, poenam constituerint?

Tametsi quae est laudatio ista, cum laudator interrogatus laedat necesse est? Quid? isti laudatores tui non testes mei sunt? Heius est laudator: laesit gravissime. Producam ceteros: reticebunt, quae poterunt, libenter: dicent, quae necesse erit, ingratis.[10] Negent isti onerariam navem maximam aedifica-

nected with earlier laws about bribery (*De ambitu*), was enacted by the praetor Servilius Glaucia, in B. C. 104, when he was tribune of the people. It was re-enacted with greater severity by Sulla in B. C. 81.

[1] *Te* is accusative; see *Gram.* § 254, 2. *Patrios*, 'received from his forefathers.'

[2] *Metus* is 'the fear of the anger of the gods.' *Res divinae* are the same as *sacra*.

[3] *Cotidiano*; the same as *cotidie* (*quotidie*).

[4] The meaning is either, 'he is not concerned about the money of which he has been robbed;' or, 'the *simulacra* are not to be obtained for money.' Compare chap. 2.

[5] *Dixit*; namely, in a former transaction.

[6] *Proximus* here has the meaning of *fidelissimus*. *Isto*; namely, *Verre*.

[7] *Ignominia*, like the Greek ἀτιμία, denotes the loss of civil privileges and distinctions. This punishment was inflicted by the censors, but was usually removed by their successors.

[8] *Impetraturum te*; namely, *ut Heius ignominia afficeretur*.

[9] *Fac*; equivalent to *cogita*. [10] *Ingratis*; equivalent to *inviti*.

tam esse Messanae? negent, si possunt.[1] Negent ei navi[2] senatorem Mamertinum publice praefuisse? utinam negent! Sunt etiam cetera, quae malo integra reservare, ut quam minimum dem illis temporis ad meditandum confirmandumque perjurium. Haec tibi laudatio procedat in numerum:[3] hi te homines auctoritate sua sublevent: qui te neque debent adjuvare, si possint, neque possunt, si velint; quibus tu privatim injurias plurimas contumeliasque imposuisti: quo in oppido multas familias totas in perpetuum infames tuis stupris flagitiisque fecisti. At publice commodasti.[4] Non sine magno quidem rei publicae provinciaeque Siciliae detrimento. Tritici modium LX milia empta populo Romano dare debebant et solebant: abs te solo[5] remissum est. Res publica detrimentum fecit, quod per te imperii jus in una civitate[6] imminutum est; Siculi, quod ipsum[7] non de summa frumenti detractum est, sed translatum in Centuripinos et Halaesinos, immunes populos, et hoc plus impositum, quam ferre possent. Navem imperare[8] debuisti ex foedere: remisisti in triennium: militem nullum unquam poposcisti per tot annos.[9] Fecisti item, ut praedones solent: qui cum hostes communes sint omnium, tamen aliquos sibi instituunt amicos, quibus non modo parcant, verum etiam praeda quos augeant, et eos maxime, qui habent oppidum opportuno loco, quo saepe adeundum sit navibus, nonnunquam etiam necessario.

10. Phaselis[10] illa, quam cepit P. Servilius,[11] non fuerat

[1] A lively expression for *negarent, si possent.*

[2] To *navi* supply *aedificandae.*

[3] 'May it incline the balance in your favour.' The number of towns in a province which sent commissioners to Rome to praise a governor for his administration usually amounted to ten.

[4] 'Thou hast conferred a benefit upon them.'

[5] That is, 'without any one's authority.'

[6] Supply *Mamertina.*

[7] *Ipsum;* supply *frumentum*, which the Mamertines ought to have furnished.

[8] Namely, *Mamertinis;* for besides corn, the towns had also to furnish ships and soldiers.

[9] Verres had been propraetor of Sicily for three years; namely, from B.C. 73 to 71.

[10] A town in Lycia, on the west coast of the Sinus Pamphylius.

[11] Obtained the surname of Isauricus as proconsul in B.C. 78. The pirates were not completely conquered until the time of Pompey in B.C. 66.

urbs antea Cilicum et praedonum: Lycii illam, Graeci homines, incolebant. Sed quod erat ejusmodi loco, atque ita projecta in altum, ut et exeuntes e Cilicia praedones saepe ad eam necessario devenirent, et, cum se ex hisce locis reciperent,[1] eodem deferrentur, asciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratae, primo commercio, deinde etiam societate. Mamertina civitas improba antea non erat: etiam erat inimica improborum: quae C. Catonis,[2] illius, qui consul fuit, impedimenta retinuit. At cujus hominis? clarissimi ac potentissimi; qui tamen cum[3] consul fuisset, condemnatus est. Huic Mamertini irati fuerunt;[4] qui majorem sumptum, quam quanti Catonis lis aestimata est,[5] in Timarchidi[6] prandium saepe fecerunt. Verum haec civitas isti praedoni ac piratae Siciliensi Phaselis fuit. Huc omnia undique deferebantur; apud istos relinquebantur: quod celari opus erat, habebant sepositum et reconditum: per istos, quae volebat, clam imponenda, occulte exportanda curabat: navem denique maximam, quam onustam furtis in Italiam mitteret, apud istos faciendam aedificandamque curavit: pro hisce rebus vacatio data est ab isto sumptus, laboris, militiae, rerum denique omnium: per triennium soli non modo in Sicilia, verum, ut opinio mea fert, his quidem temporibus, in omni orbe terrarum, vacui, expertes, soluti ac liberi fuerunt ab omni sumptu, molestia, munere. Hinc illa Verria[7] nata sunt: quod in convivium Sex. Cominium[8] protrahi jussit, in quem scyphum de manu jacere conatus est,[9] quem obtorta gula de convivio in vincla atque in tenebras abripi jussit. Hinc illa

[1] *Reciperent;* supply *in Ciliciam;* hence eastward.

[2] C. Cato was consul in B. C. 114; he lost his army when engaged against the Scordiscans in Thrace, and in the year following he was accused of extortion, and condemned for having lost his army.

[3] *Cum* is here the same as *quamvis* (*Gram.* § 355, note 2): it is here intimated that Verres is yet very far from the honour of the consulship.

[4] For what particular reason they were angry is unknown.

[5] It cost him, according to some, 4000, and according to others, 18,000 sesterces.

[6] *Timarchidi.* See above, chap. 2, note 5. Timarchides was a freedman of Verres.

[7] *Verria* (Βερρῖαι), a festival celebrated, in honour of Verres, with a repast (*convivium*).

[8] *Sex. Cominius* was a Roman eques.

[9] Just as the insolent suitors in the house of Odysseus threw footstools and bones at each other.

crux, in quam iste civem Romanum,[1] multis inspectantibus, sustulit: quam non ausus est usquam defigere, nisi apud eos, quibuscum omnia scelera sua ac latrocinia communicavit.

11. Laudatum etiam vos quemquam venitis?[2] qua auctoritate?[3] utrum, quam apud senatum, an quam apud populum Romanum habere debetis? Ecqua civitas[4] est, non in provinciis nostris, verum in ultimis nationibus, aut tam potens, aut tam libera, aut etiam tam immanis ac barbara; rex denique ecquis est, qui senatorem populi Romani tecto ac domo non invitet? qui honos non homini solum habetur, sed primum populo Romano, cujus beneficio nos in hunc ordinem venimus,[5] deinde ordinis auctoritati, quae nisi gravis erit apud socios et exteras nationes,[6] ubi erit imperii nomen et dignitas? Mamertini me publice non invitarunt. Me cum dico, leve est: senatorem populi Romani si non invitarunt, honorem debitum detraxerunt non homini, sed ordini. Nam ipsi Tullio[7] patebat domus locupletissima et amplissima Cn. Pompeii Basilisci, quo, etiamsi esset invitatus a vobis, tamen devertisset: erat etiam Percenniorum, qui nunc item Pompeii sunt, domus honestissima, quo L. frater meus[8] summa illorum voluntate devertit. Senator populi Romani, quod in vobis fuit, in vestro oppido jacuit et pernoctavit in publico. Nulla hoc civitas unquam alia commisit. Amicum[9] enim nostrum in judicium vocabas. Tu, quid ego privatim negotii geram, interpretabere imminuendo honore senatorio? Verum haec tum queremur, si quid de vobis per

[1] Namely, P. Gavius.

[2] 'You even come,' or 'dare to come to praise a person?' (not to mention that that person is Verres).

[3] 'What right have you to do so?' Have you Mamertines deserved so well of the Roman republic?

[4] *Ecqua civitas;* namely, besides Messana, according to the words below, *Mamertini me publice non invitarunt (hospitio exceperunt).*

[5] Because the higher magistrates elected by the people became senators by virtue of their office.

[6] *Exterae nationes* are subject and tributary nations; whereas *socii* are those connected with Rome by treaties.

[7] That is, *mihi.* The family of Cn. Pompeius Basiliscus, as well as that of the Percennii, had assumed the name of Pompey, through whose influence they had obtained the Roman franchise.

[8] Lucius, Cicero's cousin (for *frater* has frequently this meaning), had accompanied him to Sicily to inquire into the conduct of Verres.

[9] *Amicum,* &c. here expresses the sentiments of the Mamertines.

eum ordinem[1] agetur, qui ordo a vobis adhuc solis contemptus est. In populi Romani quidem conspectum quo ore vos commisistis? nec prius illam crucem, quae etiamnunc civis Romani sanguine redundat, quae fixa est ad portum urbemque vestram, revellistis, neque in profundum abjecistis, locumque illum omnem expiastis, quam Romam atque in horum conventum adiretis? In Mamertinorum solo foederato[2] atque pacato monumentum istius crudelitatis constitutum est. Vestrane urbs electa est, ad quam cum adirent ex Italia, crucem civis Romani prius, quam quemquam amicum populi Romani viderent? quam vos Rheginis,[3] quorum civitati invidetis, itemque incolis vestris, civibus Romanis, ostendere soletis, quo minus sibi arrogent minusque vos despiciant, cum videant jus civitatis illo supplicio esse mactatum.[4]

12. Verum haec[5] emisse te dicis. Quid? illa Attalica[6] tota Sicilia nominata[7] ab eodem Heio peripetasmata emere oblitus es?[8] Licuit[9] eodem modo, ut signa. Quid enim actum est?[10] An litteris pepercisti? Verum hominem amentem hoc fugit: minus clarum putavit fore,[11] quod de armario, quam quod de sacrario esset ablatum. At quomodo abstulit? non possum dicere planius, quam ipse apud vos dixit Heius. Cum quaesissem, numquid aliud de bonis ejus pervenisset

[1] The *ordo* here is the senate. Cicero censures the conduct of the Mamertines towards it.

[2] The *socii foederati* were bound to pay tribute, and serve in the armies, and received their commands from Rome, according to the more or less favourable nature of the treaty (*foedus*).

[3] Rhegium was situated on the Italian coast, opposite to Messana; its inhabitants possessed the franchise, for which they were envied by the Mamertines.

[4] *Mactatum* is here equivalent to *eversum* or *deletum;* for it was a crime to put to death a Roman citizen, and thus to disregard the Roman franchise. They boasted of such crimes before their neighbours.

[5] *Haec;* that is, the statues of Heius. See chap. 2.

[6] *Attalica* are covers or tapestries embroidered with gold, the invention of which was ascribed to Attalus, king of Pergamus, about B.C. 150.

[7] *Nominata;* equivalent to *celebrata.* The words *ab eodem Heio* must be connected with *emere.*

[8] 'Why did you not order Heius to give you a receipt for these tapestries also? Did you forget it?'

[9] Supply *emere;* that is, *auferre.*

[10] For what have you gained by not wishing to make a mock purchase? Nothing.

[11] '*It* would cause less sensation.'

ad Verrem, respondit, istum ad se misisse, ut sibi mitteret Agrigentum[1] peripetasmata. Quaesivi an misisset: respondit id, quod necesse erat scilicet,[2] dicto audientem fuisse praetori; misisse. Rogavi, pervenissentne Agrigentum: dixit pervenisse. Quaesivi, quemadmodum revertissent: negavit adhuc revertisse. Risus populi atque admiratio omnium vestrum facta est. Hic tibi in mentem non venit jubere, ut haec quoque referret HS VI milibus D se tibi vendidisse? metuisti, ne aes alienum tibi cresceret, si HS VI milibus D tibi constarent ea, quae tu facile posses vendere HS ducentis milibus? Fuit tanti,[3] mihi crede: haberes quod defenderes: nemo quaereret, quanti illa res esset: si modo te posses docere emisse, facile cui velles tuam causam et factum probares: nunc de peripetasmatis quemadmodum te expedias, non habes.

Quid? a Phylarcho Centuripino, homine locuplete ac nobili, phaleras pulcherrime factas, quae regis Hieronis[4] fuisse dicuntur, utrum tandem abstulisti, an emisti? In Sicilia quidem cum essem, sic a Centuripinis, sic a ceteris audiebam (non enim parum res erat clara), tam te has phaleras a Phylarcho Centuripino abstulisse dicebant, quam alias item nobiles ab Aristo Panhormitano,[5] quam tertias a Cratippo Tyndaritano. Etenim si Phylarchus vendidisset, non ei, posteaquam reus[6] factus es, redditurum te promisisses. Quod quia vidisti plures scire, cogitasti, si ei reddidisses, te minus[7] habiturum, rem nihilominus testatam futuram: non reddidisti. Dixit Phylarchus pro testimonio, se, quod nosset tuum istum morbum, ut amici tui appellant, cupisse te celare[8] de phaleris: cum abs te appellatus esset, negasse habere sese: apud alium quoque eas habuisse depositas, ne qua invenirentur: tuam tantam fuisse sagaci-

[1] *Agrigentum*, the modern Girgenti, a city on the south coast of Sicily, where Verres was residing.

[2] *Scilicet*, like the Greek δήπου, 'I think.'

[3] Supply *momenti*; 'the matter was advantageous to you in every respect.'

[4] Hiero, who had been king of Syracuse, and for many years a faithful friend and ally of the Romans, died in B. C. 215.

[5] Panhormus (the modern Palermo), a city on the northern coast of Sicily.

[6] Namely, *repetundarum*.

[7] *Minus* may here be considered as equivalent to *non*.

[8] *Celare* is also construed with a double accusative. Gram. § 254, 1.

tatem, ut eas per illum ipsum inspiceres, ubi erant depositae: tum se deprehensum negare non potuisse: ita ab se invito phaleras ablatas gratis.

13. Jam, ut haec omnia reperire ac perscrutari solitus sit, judices, est operae pretium cognoscere. Cibyratae[1] sunt fratres quidam, Tlepolemus et Hiero: quorum alterum fingere opinor e cera solitum esse, alterum esse pictorem. Hosce opinor,[2] Cibyrae cum in suspicionem venissent suis civibus fanum expilasse Apollinis, veritos poenam judicii ac legis, domo profugisse. Quod Verrem artificii sui cupidum cognoverant tum, cum iste, id quod ex testibus didicistis, Cibyram cum inanibus syngraphis[3] venerat,[4] domo fugientes ad eum se exules, cum iste esset in Asia,[5] contulerunt. Habuit eos secum ab illo tempore, et in legationis praedis atque furtis multum illorum opera consilioque usus est. Hi sunt illi, quibus in tabulis refert sese Q. Tadius[6] dedisse jussu istius Graecis pictoribus. Eos jam bene cognitos et re probatos secum in Siciliam duxit. Quo posteaquam venerunt, mirandum in modum (canes venaticos[7] diceres), ita odorabantur omnia et pervestigabant, ut, ubi quidque esset, aliqua ratione invenirent. Aliud minando, aliud pollicendo, aliud per servos, aliud per liberos, per amicum aliud, aliud per inimicum inveniebant: quicquid illis placuerat, perdendum erat. Nihil aliud optabant, quorum poscebatur argentum,[8] nisi ut id Hieroni et Tlepolemo displiceret.

14. Verum mehercule hoc, judices, dicam. Memini, Pamphilum Lilybaetanum,[9] amicum et hospitem meum, nobilem

[1] *Cibyra* was a town in Phrygia Major, and belonged to the province of Cilicia; that province was formed in B. C. 75 by P. Servilius Isauricus.

[2] By *opinor*, Cicero here relates how he became acquainted with the earlier circumstances; afterwards of course the *opinor* is not required.

[3] 'With formularies not filled up,' or *cartes blanches*, which were used for forging wills and receipts.

[4] Namely, as legate of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, who was consul in B. C. 81.

[5] 'In Asia;' that is, in the province of Cilicia.

[6] *Q. Tadius* was quaestor of Verres, and had large accounts with him. The relative *quibus* belongs to *tabulis*.

[7] An allusion to the fondness of the Cibyratae for the chase, and at the same time a play upon *venerunt*.

[8] *Argentum* is the general term for all kinds of valuables and works of art in metal.

[9] *Lilybaeum*, a fortress in the west of Sicily, founded by the Carthaginians.

hominem, mihi narrare, cum iste ab sese hydriam Boëthi[1] nanu factam, praeclaro opere et grandi pondere, per potestatem[2] abstulisset, se sane tristem et conturbatum domum revertisse, quod vas ejusmodi, quod sibi a patre et majoribus esset relictum, quo solitus esset uti ad festos dies, ad hospitum adventus, a se esset ablatum. Cum sederem, inquit, domi tristis, accurrit Venerius:[3] jubet me scyphos sigillatos ad praetorem statim afferre. Permotus sum, inquit: binos habebam: jubeo promi utrosque, ne quid plus mali nasceretur, et mecum ad praetoris domum ferri. Eo cum venio, praetor quiescebat: fratres illi Cibyratae inambulabant. Qui me ubi viderunt, Ubi sunt, Pamphile, inquiunt, scyphi? Ostendo tristis. Laudant. Incipio queri, me nihil habiturum, quod alicujus esset pretii, si etiam scyphi essent ablati. Tum illi, ubi me conturbatum vident: Quid vis nobis dare, ut isti abs te ne auferantur? Ne multa,[4] sestertios CIↃ me, inquit, poposcerunt: dixi me daturum. Vocat interea praetor: poscit scyphos. Tum illos coepisse praetori dicere, putasse se, id quod audissent, alicujus pretii scyphos esse Pamphili: luteum[5] negotium esse; non dignum, quod in suo argento Verres haberet. Ait ille, idem sibi videri. Ita Pamphilus scyphos optimos aufert.

Et mehercule ego antea, tametsi hoc nescio quid nugatorium sciebam esse, ista[6] intelligere, tamen mirari solebam, istum in his ipsis rebus aliquem sensum habere; quem scirem nulla in re quicquam simile hominis habere.

15. Tum primum intellexi, ad eam rem istos fratres Cibyratas fuisse, ut iste in furando manibus suis, oculis illorum uteretur. At ita studiosus est hujus praeclarae existimationis, ut putetur in hisce rebus intelligens esse, ut nuper (videte hominis amentiam) posteaquam est comperendi-

[1] *Boëthius*, a celebrated Carthaginian sculptor, who lived previously to the destruction of his native city in B.C. 146.

[2] A euphemism for *per vim*—because, being praetor, he had to some extent a right to dispose of it; but he neither paid its value, nor tried to obtain it by asking for it.

[3] *Venerius* (ἱερόδουλος), a slave belonging to the temple of Venus at Eryx, in the western part of Sicily.

[4] Supply *dicam*, 'in short.'

[5] *Luteum* here has the meaning of *vilissimum*, 'that they were not worth more than if they were made of clay.' Verres himself is, in one passage, called *homo luteus*.

[6] *Ista*, 'works of art.'

natus,[1] cum jam pro damnato mortuoque esset, ludis Circensibus mane apud L. Sisennam,[2] virum primarium, cum essent triclinia strata argentumque expositum in aedibus; cum pro dignitate L. Sisennae domus esset plena hominum honestissimorum: accessit ad argentum, contemplari unumquidque otiose et considerare coepit. Mirari stultitiam alii, quod in ipso judicio, ejus ipsius cupiditatis, cujus insimularetur, suspicionem augeret; alii amentiam, cui[3] comperendinato, cum tam multi testes dixissent, quicquam illorum venisset in mentem. Pueri autem Sisennae, credo qui audissent, quae in istum testimonia dicta essent, oculos de isto nusquam dejicere, neque ab argento digitum discedere. Est boni judicis, parvis ex rebus conjecturam facere uniuscujusque et cupiditatis et continentiae. Qui reus, et reus lege comperendinatus, re et opinione hominum paene damnatus, temperare non potuerit maximo conventu,[4] quin L. Sisennae argentum tractaret et consideraret; hunc praetorem in provincia quisquam putabit a Siculorum argento cupiditatem aut manus abstinere potuisse?

16. Verum, ut Lilybaeum, unde digressa est oratio, revertamur, Diocles est, Pamphili gener illius, a quo hydria ablata est, Popillius cognomine. Ab hoc abaci vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerant, abstulit. Dicat se licet emisse: etenim hic propter magnitudinem furti sunt litterae, ut opinor,[5] factae. Jussit Timarchidem[6] aestimare argentum. Quo modo? Quo qui unquam tenuissime in donationem[7] histrionum aestimavit.

[1] 'After he had obtained a respite for a short time;' properly, 'till the day after to-morrow.'

[2] *L. Sisenna* was curule aedile in B. C. 70. The curule aediles differed from the *aediles plebis* only by their having the honour of the *sella curulis*, like the consuls and praetors. Their special function, perhaps, was to superintend the improvement and embellishment of the city of Rome, whence the office was generally given to patricians, and afterwards to very wealthy persons. The *ludi Circenses* were not celebrated at any fixed time; they consisted of chariot-racing and contests in the Circus Maximus.

[3] *Cui;* that is, *ejus cui* or *quod ei*. *Mirari, dejicere,* and *discedere,* are historical infinitives. *Gram.* § 390.

[4] Respecting this ablative absolute, see *Gram.* § 405, note 2.

[5] *Ut opinor* refers to *magnitudinem*. *Litterae factae;* namely, as in the mock purchase from Heius.

[6] *Timarchides*, a freedman and official servant of Verres.

[7] *Quo qui—donationem*, 'like one who has valued in the most niggardly manner a reward for an actor.' Besides the ordinary remunerations, the best actors also received valuable presents (*argenta*) from

Tametsi jamdudum ego erro, qui tam multa de tuis emptionibus verba faciam, et quaeram, utrum emeris necne, et quomodo et quanti emeris: quod verbo transigere possum. Ede mihi scriptum, quid argenti in provincia Sicilia pararis, unde quidque aut quanti emeris. Quid fit?[1] quamquam non debebam ego abs te has litteras poscere: me enim tabulas tuas habere et proferre oportebat. Verum negas te horum annorum aliquot[2] confecisse. Compone[3] hoc, quod postulo, de argento; de reliquo videro. *Nec scriptum habeo, nec possum edere.* Quid futurum igitur est? Quid, existimas hoc judices[4] facere posse? Domus plena signorum pulcherrimorum jam ante praeturam: multa ad villas tuas posita, multa deposita apud amicos, multa aliis data atque donata: tabulae nullum indicant emptum. Omne argentum ablatum ex Sicilia est; nihil cuiquam, quod suum dici vellet, relictum: fingitur improba[5] defensio, praetorem omne id argentum coëmisse; tamen id ipsum[6] tabulis demonstrari non potest. Si quas tabulas profers, in his, quae[7] habes, quomodo habeas, scriptum non est, horum autem temporum, cum te plurimas res emisse dicis, tabulas omnino nullas profers, nonne te et prolatis et non prolatis tabulis condemnari[8] necesse est?

17. Tu a M. Caelio, equite Romano, lectissimo adolescente, quae voluisti Lilybaei abstulisti: tu C. Cacurii, prompti hominis et experientis et in primis gratiosi, supellectilem omnem auferre non dubitasti: tu maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citream a Q. Lutatio Diodoro, qui Q. Catuli[9]

the aediles. These presents seem sometimes to have been more valuable than the merit of the actors deserved, when the aediles wished to favour a particular individual.

[1] 'Why do you not give me the accounts (*scriptum, litteras*) which I have asked for?'

[2] Supply *proximorum;* 'in these latter years, you say you have made nothing of the kind.' To *confecisse* supply *quidquam.*

[3] That is, *ede;* 'come out with it,' 'make an end of it.'

[4] 'Do you perhaps believe that the judices are to draw up these written documents?'

[5] Because it is dishonest and inconsistent for a praetor to have bought everything in his province.

[6] *Id ipsum;* namely, *coemisse praetorem.*

[7] *In his, quae;* that is, *in his tabulis ea, quae (argenta),* &c.

[8] Namely, *repetundarum.*

[9] Q. Lutatius Catulus was one of the legates of L. Caesar in the Social War, B. C. 90, and consul in B. C. 78. Diodorus, having, through the kind offices of Catulus, obtained the rights of citizenship, had assumed *his praenomen* and gentile name.

beneficio ab L. Sulla civis Romanus factus est, omnibus scientibus, Lilybaei abstulisti. Non tibi objicio, quod hominem dignissimum tuis moribus, Apollonium, Niconis filium, Drepanitanum,[1] qui nunc A. Clodius vocatur, omni argento optime facto spoliasti ac depeculatus es. Taceo. Non enim putat ille sibi injuriam factam, propterea quod homini jam perdito et collum in laqueum inserenti subvenisti, cum pupillis Drepanitanis bona patria erepta cum illo partitus es.[2] Gaudeo etiam, si quid ab eo abstulisti, et abs te nihil rectius[3] factum esse dico. Ab Lysone vero Lilybaetano, primo homine, apud quem deversatus es, Apollinis signum ablatum certe non oportuit. Dices te emisse. Scio: HS CIↃ:[4] ita opinor. Scio, inquam: proferam litteras: tamen id factum non oportuit. A pupillo Heio, cui C. Marcellus[5] tutor est, a quo pecuniam grandem eripueras, scaphia cum emblematis Lilybaei utrum empta esse dicis, an confiteris erepta?

Sed quid ego istius in ejusmodi rebus mediocres[6] injurias colligo, quae tantummodo in furtis istius, et damnis eorum, a quibus auferebat, versata esse videantur? Accipite, si voltis, judices, rem ejusmodi, ut amentiam singularem et furorem jam, non cupiditatem ejus perspicere possitis.

18. Melitensis[7] Diodorus est, qui apud vos antea testimonium dixit.[8] Is Lilybaei multos jam annos habitat, homo et domi nobilis et apud eos, quo se contulit, propter virtutem splendidus[9] et gratiosus. De hoc Verri dicitur, habere eum perbona toreumata: in iis pocula quaedam, quae Thericlia[10] nominantur, Mentoris manu summo artificio facta. Quod iste ubi audivit, sic cupiditate inflammatus est non solum inspiciendi, verum etiam auferendi, ut Diodorum ad se vo-

[1] *Drepanum*, in the western corner of the island, between Eryx and Lilybaeum.
[2] Although you, as praetor, ought to have punished him.
[3] Just because you had not punished him.
[4] This is ironical; an ordinary price, as in chap. 14.
[5] *C. Marcellus* was the presiding judge at this trial.
[6] Namely, in comparison with those yet to be mentioned; must be understood ironically.
[7] A native of the island of Malta (Melita).
[8] Namely, in one of the preceding speeches.
[9] *Splendidus* here is equivalent to *honoratus*, 'honoured.'
[10] *Thericlia*, so called from Thericles, a contemporary of Aristophanes the Athenian, about B. C. 400. Mentor lived somewhat later, about B. C. 356.

caret ac posceret. Ille, qui illa non invitus[1] haberet, respondet Lilybaei se non habere, Melitae apud quendam propinquum suum reliquisse. Tum iste continuo mittit homines certos Melitam: scribit ad quosdam Melitenses, ut ea vasa perquirant: rogat Diodorum, ut ad illum propinquum suum det litteras: nihil ei longius videbatur,[2] quam dum illud videret argentum. Diodorus, homo frugi ac diligens, qui sua servare vellet, ad propinquum suum scribit, ut iis, qui a Verre venissent, responderet, illud argentum se paucis illis diebus misisse Lilybaeum. Ipse interea recedit:[3] abesse a domo paulisper maluit, quam praesens illud optime factum argentum amittere. Quod ubi iste audivit, usque eo commotus est, ut sine ulla dubitatione insanire omnibus ac furere videretur. Quia non potuerat eripere argentum, ipse a Diodoro erepta sibi vasa optime facta dicebat: minitari absenti Diodoro: vociferari palam: lacrimas interdum vix tenere. Eriphylam[4] accepimus in fabulis ea cupiditate, ut, cum vidisset monile, ut opinor, ex auro et gemmis, pulchritudine ejus incensa salutem viri proderet. Similis istius cupiditas; hoc etiam acrior atque insanior, quod illa cupiebat id, quod viderat, hujus libidines non solum oculis, sed etiam auribus[5] excitabantur.

19. Conquiri Diodorum tota provincia jubet. Ille ex Sicilia jam castra commoverat,[6] et vasa collegerat. Homo, ut aliquo modo in provinciam illum revocaret, hanc excogitat rationem, si haec ratio potius, quam amentia nominanda est. Apponit de suis canibus[7] quendam, qui dicat se Diodorum Melitensem rei capitalis reum velle facere. Primo mirum omnibus videri,[8] Diodorum reum, hominem quietissimum, ab omni non modo facinoris, verum etiam minimi errati suspicione remotissimum. Deinde esse perspicuum, fieri omnia illa

[1] As he wanted to retain them.

[2] Because from impatience, and from the desire to see the treasure, he could hardly wait its arrival.

[3] Namely, from Lilybaeum.

[4] Eriphyla was the wife of Amphiaraus. As the latter did not wish to take part in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, and concealed himself, she betrayed him to Adrastus of Argos, the leader of the expedition, who rewarded her with a golden necklace.

[5] *Auribus;* that is, *fama.*

[6] *Castra commoverat,* equivalent to *recesserat.*

[7] *Canibus;* supply *Cibyratis.* See chap. 13.

[8] An historical infinitive. See *Gram.* § 390. So also esse perspicuum.

propter argentum. Iste[1] non dubitat jubere nomen deferri: et tum primum opinor istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Sicilia tota, propter caelati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium, neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes.[2] Diodorus Romae sordidatus[3] circum patronos atque hospites cursare:[4] rem omnibus narrare. Litterae mittuntur isti a patre vehementes, ab amicis item, videret, quid ageret de Diodoro, quo progrederetur: rem claram esse et invidiosam; insanire hominem;[5] periturum hoc uno crimine, nisi cavisset. Iste etiamtum patrem, si non in parentis, at in hominum numero putabat:[6] ad judicium[7] nondum se satis instruxerat: primus annus erat provincia; non, ut in Sthenio,[8] jam refertus pecunia. Itaque furor ejus paululum, non pudore, sed metu ac timore repressus est. Condemnare Diodorum non audet absentem: de reis eximit. Diodorus interea praetore isto prope triennium provincia domoque caruit. Ceteri, non solum Siculi, sed etiam cives Romani, hoc statuerant,[9] quoniam iste tantum cupiditate progrederetur, nihil esse, quod quisquam putaret se, quod isti paulo magis placeret, conservare aut domi retinere posse;

20. postea vero quam intellexerunt isti virum fortem, quem summe provincia expectabat, Q. Arrium,[10] non succedere, statuerunt nihil se tam clausum neque tam reconditum posse habere, quod non istius cupiditati apertissimum promptissimumque esset.

Tum iste ab equite Romano splendido et gratioso, Cn.

[1] *Iste;* that is, Verres. *Tum primum*, in the first year of his praetorship, B. C. 73. To *deferri* supply *ad se*, *praetorem*, he caused an accusation to be brought before himself, and admitted it (*nomen recepit*); officially, he had a right to do both.

[2] Supply *reos fieri*.

[3] *Sordidatus;* that is, *toga sordida indutus*, as was becoming to him, being an accused party.

[4] *Cursare* and the following infinitives are historical infinitives.

[5] Namely, *Verrem*.

[6] Hence he allowed himself to be cautioned by him, and followed his advice.

[7] Supply *repetundarum*.

[8] A citizen of Thermae in Sicily, towards whom he acted more unscrupulously, because he had already become more practised and rapacious.

[9] 'Had come to the conviction.'

[10] Q. Arrius was the person appointed to succeed Verres, but he was unable to enter upon his office, because the Servile War, which had broken out in the meantime, rendered it necessary for him to take the *field against* Crixus and Spartacus.

Calidio, cujus filium sciebat senatorem populi Romani et judicem esse, equuleos[1] argenteos nobiles, quique maximi[2] fuerant, aufert. Imprudens[3] huc incidi, judices: emit enim, non abstulit: nollem dixisse: jactabit se, et in his equitabit[4] equuleis. *Emi: pecuniam solvi.* Credo: etiam tabulae proferentur.[5] Est tanti,[6] cedo tabulas: dilue sane crimen hoc Calidianum, dum ego tabulas aspicere possim. Verumtamen quid erat, quod Calidius Romae quereretur, se, cum tot annos in Sicilia negotiaretur,[7] abs te solo ita esse contemptum, ita despectum, ut etiam una cum ceteris Siculis[8] despoliaretur. Si emeras, quid erat, quod confirmabat, se abs te argentum esse repetiturum, si id tibi sua voluntate vendiderat; tu porro posses facere,[9] ut Cn. Calidio non redderes? praesertim cum is L. Sisenna,[10] defensore tuo, tam familiariter uteretur, et cum ceteris familiaribus Sisennae reddidisses? Denique non opinor negaturum esse te, homini honesto, sed non gratiosiori, quam Cn. Calidius est, L. Curidio argentum per Potamonem,[11] amicum tuum, reddidisse. Qui quidem ceterorum causam apud te difficiliorem fecit.[12] Nam cum te confirmasses compluribus redditurum, posteaquam Curidius pro testimonio dixit, te sibi reddidisse, finem reddendi fecisti: quod intellexisti, praeda te de manibus emissa testimonium tamen effugere non posse. Cn. Calidio,

[1] *Equulei* were wine-vessels of the shape of little horses; the wine was poured into them by an opening in the back of the figure, and drawn or sucked out by means of a tube inserted through the breast.

[2] Supply *pretii.*

[3] *Imprudens*, as well as what follows, must be taken ironically.

[4] *Equitabit*—that is, *se jactabit, exultabit*—on these little horses he will ride; that is, he will proclaim his right.

[5] Ironical, for Verres himself had said before that he possessed no written document about the purchase.

[6] 'The *equulei* are worth the trouble; but give me your receipt, and while I look at it and examine it, clear yourself of this crime against Calidius.' The case is different *in Catil.* I. 9.

[7] The Roman equites were allowed to carry on mercantile business in the provinces; but senators were forbidden by law to do so.

[8] Along with the others who were at least Sicilians, whereas Calidius was a Roman.

[9] 'Had you a good reason for refusing to give it up to Calidius?' Certainly not.

[10] See chap. 14.

[11] L. Papirius Potamo was quaestor of Verres.

[12] Whether you restored what you had robbed or not, in either case it spoke and speaks against you.

equiti Romano, per omnes alios praetores licuit habere argentum bene factum; licuit posse domesticis copiis, cum magistratum aut aliquem superiorem invitasset, ornare et apparare convivium. Multi domi Cn. Calidii cum potestate atque imperio[1] fuerunt: nemo inventus est tam amens, qui illud argentum tam praeclarum ac tam nobile eriperet, nemo tam audax, qui posceret, nemo tam impudens, qui postularet ut venderet. Superbum est enim, judices, et non ferendum, dicere praetorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido, *vende mihi vasa caelata.* Hoc est enim dicere: non es dignus tu, qui habeas, quae tam bene facta sunt: meae dignitatis ista sunt. Tu dignior, Verres, quam Calidius? qui ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem tuam cum illius: neque enim est conferenda: hoc ipsum conferam, quo tu te superiorem[2] fingis — quod HS. ccc milia divisoribus,[3] ut praetor renuntiarere, dedisti, LXXX[4] accusatori, ne tibi odiosus esset, ea re contemnis equestrem ordinem et despicis? ea re tibi indignum visum est quicquam, quod tibi placeret, Calidium potius habere quam te?

21. Jactat se jamdudum de Calidio: narrat omnibus emisse se. Num etiam de L. Papinio, viro primario, locupleti honestoque equite Romano, turibulum emisti? qui pro testimonio dixit, te, cum inspiciendum poposcisses, evolso emblemate remisisse: ut intelligatis in homine intelligentiam[5] esse, non avaritiam, artificii cupidum, non argenti fuisse. Nec solum in Papinio fuit hac abstinentia: tenuit hoc institutum in turibulis omnibus, quaecunque in Sicilia fuerunt. Incredibile est autem, quam multa et quam praeclara fuerint. Credo tum, cum Sicilia florebat opibus et

[1] 'Men in office and authority,' is said especially of praetors and consuls.

[2] 'More influential,' not only by his rank, but by his property, which Verres employed in bribing at elections.

[3] *Divisores* were a kind of leaders of the tribes, who, being themselves accessible by bribes, also bribed the tribes in their votes; here, of course, in favour of Verres.

[4] Supply *milia;* '80,000 sesterces have been spent by you, in order to escape the charge of bribery,' which Cicero expresses satirically by *tibi odiosus esset.*

[5] Is said ironically, for the things really valuable were the *emblemata.* So also *tenuit hoc institutum,* 'he followed this principle;' for Cicero throughout does not attack Verres' love of art, but his avarice.

copiis,[1] magna artificia fuisse in ea insula. Nam domus erat ante istum praetorem nulla paulo locupletior, qua in domo haec non essent, etiamsi praeterea nihil esset argenti, patella grandis cum sigillis[2] ac simulacris deorum, patera, qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur, turibulum. Haec autem omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta: ut hoc liceret suspicari, fuisse aliquando apud Siculos peraeque pro portione cetera,[3] sed quibus[4] multa fortuna[5] ademisset, tamen apud eos remansisse ea, quae religio retinuisset. Dixi, judices, multa fuisse fere apud omnes Siculos: ego idem confirmo, nunc ne unum quidem esse. Quid hoc est? quod hoc monstrum, quod prodigium in provinciam misimus? Nonne vobis id egisse videtur, ut non unius[6] libidinem, non suos oculos, sed omnium cupidissimorum insanias,[7] cum Romam revertisset, expleret? Qui simul atque in oppidum quodpiam venerat, immittebantur illi continuo Cibyratici canes, qui investigabant et perscrutabantur omnia. Si quod erat grande vas et majus opus inventum, laeti afferebant:[8] si minus ejusmodi quippiam venari potuerant, illa quidem certe pro lepusculis capiebantur, patellae, paterae, turibula. Hic quos putatis fletus mulierum, quas lamentationes fieri solitas esse in hisce rebus? quae forsitan vobis parvae esse videantur: sed magnum et acerbum dolorem commovent, mulierculis praesertim, cum eripiuntur e manibus ea, quibus ad res divinas uti consuerunt, quae a suis acceperunt, quae in familia semper fuerunt.

22. Hic nolite expectare, dum ego haec crimina agam ostiatim, ab Aeschylo Tyndaritano istum pateram abstulisse, a Thrasone item Tyndaritano patellam, a Nymphodoro Agrigentino turibulum. Cum testes ex Sicilia dabo, quem volet ille eligat, quem ego interrogem de patellis, pateris, turibulis:

[1] That is, previous to the wars with Carthage.

[2] *Sigilla* are not exactly images of the gods, but ἱερόδουλοι, and others forming the suite of the gods; but *simulacra* are the more prominent figures of the gods.

[3] Supply *profana*, all kinds of works of art.

[4] *Quibus*, equivalent to *quamvis illis*.

[5] *Fortuna* here is *vis bellorum*, the misfortunes of war.

[6] That is, *non suam ipsius*.

[7] That all people of a similar stamp, seized with the same insane greediness, should support Verres.

[8] 'They brought it, like dogs wagging their tails.'

non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior expers hujus injuriae reperietur. Qui cum in convivium venisset, si quicquam caelati aspexerat, manus abstinere, judices, non poterat. Cn. Pompeius est Philo, qui fuit[1] Tyndaritanus. Is coenam isti dabat apud villam in Tyndaritano.[2] Fecit, quod Siculi non audebant; ille, civis Romanus quod erat, impunius id se facturum putavit: apposuit patellam, in qua sigilla erant egregia.[3] Iste continuo ut vidit, non dubitavit illud insigne penatium hospitaliumque deorum ex hospitali mensa tollere:[4] sed tamen, quod ante[5] de istius abstinentia dixeram, sigillis avolsis reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit. Quid? Eupolemo Calactino,[6] homini nobili, Lucullorum hospiti ac perfamiliari, qui nunc apud exercitum cum L. Lucullo est,[7] non idem fecit? Coenabat apud eum. Argentum ille ceterum purum[8] apposuerat, ne purus ipse relinqueretur: duo pocula non magna, verumtamen cum emblemate. Hic, tamquam festivum acroama,[9] ne sine corollario de convivio discederet, ibidem, convivis spectantibus, emblemata evellenda curavit.

Neque ego nunc istius facta omnia enumerare conor: neque opus est, nec fieri ullo modo potest: tantum uniuscujusque de varia improbitate[10] generis indicia apud vos et exempla profero. Neque enim ita se gessit in his rebus,

[1] Namely, before he became a Roman citizen.

[2] 'In the neighbourhood of the town of Tyndaris.'

[3] Namely, as ornaments of the rim.

[4] And thereby to violate the law of hospitality, which was otherwise considered sacred and inviolable.

[5] See chap. 21; as if he did all on account of his knowledge of the arts (*intelligentia*).

[6] *Calactinus*, a native of Calacta, a town in Sicily west of Mount Ætna.

[7] Namely, in Asia, engaged in the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, B.C. 70. He was there, not as a common soldier, but in the suite of Lucullus, to learn the art of war.

[8] *Argentum purum* is that which is not adorned with *sigilla*. Afterwards *purus* is playfully used in the sense of *nudus*. *Ceterum* here is an adverb equivalent to *ceteroqui*, though it may also be taken as an adjective: 'all the other utensils were simple, but two goblets,' &c.

[9] *Festivum acroama* is the name not only of singers at banquets, to whom presents (*corollaria*) were given, but also of the songs themselves. Here it is used in the former sense. Verres rewarded himself, as if by his song (his mere presence) he had a claim to the presents.

[10] *De varia improbitate* must be connected with *generis*, and is used for the genitive, in order to avoid the concurrence of several genitives.

tamquam rationem aliquando esset redditurus, sed prorsus ita, quasi aut reus nunquam esset futurus, aut, quo plura abstulisset, eo minore periculo in judicium venturus esset: qui haec, quae dico, jam non occulte, non per amicos atque interpretes, sed palam de loco superiore[1] ageret, pro imperio et potestate.

23. Catinam cum venisset, oppidum locuples, honestum, copiosum, Dionysiarchum ad se proagorum,[2] hoc est summum magistratum, vocari jubet: ei palam imperat, ut omne argentum, quod apud quemque esset Catinae, conquirendum curaret et ad se afferendum. Phylarchum Centuripinum, primum hominem genere, virtute, pecunia, non hoc idem juratum dicere[3] audistis, sibi istum negotium dedisse atque imperasse, ut Centuripinis, in civitate totius Siciliae multo maxima et locupletissima, omne argentum conquireret et ad se comportari juberet? Agyrio similiter istius imperio vasa Corinthia per Apollodorum, quem testem audistis,[4] Syracusas deportata sunt. Illa vero optima,[5] quod cum Haluntium[6] venisset praetor laboriosus et diligens, ipse in oppidum noluit accedere, quod erat difficili ascensu atque arduo; Archagathum Haluntinum, hominem non solum domi, sed tota Sicilia in primis nobilem, vocari jussit: ei negotium dedit, ut, quicquid Halunti esset argenti caelati, aut si quid etiam Corinthiorum,[7] ut omne statim ad mare ex oppido deportaretur. Ascendit in oppidum Archagathus. Homo nobilis, qui a suis amari et diligi vellet, ferebat graviter, illam sibi ab isto provinciam[8] datam, nec, quid faceret, habebat: pronuntiat, quid sibi imperatum esset: jubet

[1] 'From his exalted position,' being a *homo superior*, or governor of the province.

[2] *Proagorus* is the Greek προήγορος, 'the speaker,' or 'president.'

[3] *Juratum dicere;* that is, *jurejurando affirmare*—'to declare on one's oath.'

[4] Namely, in the previous transactions.

[5] For *illud vero optimum*, but suggesting that he intends to mention several other things.

[6] Haluntium was a town on the north coast of Sicily. This passage relates to the well-known laziness of Verres, whence *laboriosus* and *diligens* must be taken in an ironical sense, though he displayed these qualities in hunting out the treasures of art.

[7] Supply *vasorum*. Corinthian vases were particularly celebrated; they were made of bronze, whence *si quid etiam*.

[8] *Provincia* here is the same as *negotium*. *Habebat;* that is, *sciebat*—'he knew.'

omnes proferre, quod haberent. Metus erat summus. Ipse enim tyrannus non discedebat longius: Archagathum et argentum in lectica cubans ad mare infra oppidum expectabat. Quem concursum in oppido factum putatis? quem clamorem? quem porro fletum mulierum? qui videret, equum Trojanum[1] introductum, urbem captam diceret. Efferri sine thecis[2] vasa, extorqueri alia de manibus mulierum, effringi multorum fores, revelli claustra. Quid enim putatis? Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt: ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse. Omnia deferuntur. Cibyratae fratres vocantur: pauca improbant: quae probarant, iis crustae[3] aut emblemata detrahebantur. Sic Haluntini, excussis deliciis,[4] cum argento puro domum revertuntur.

24. Quod unquam, judices, hujuscemodi everriculum[5] ullum in provincia fuit? Avertere aliquid de publico[6] quam obscurissime per magistratum solebant: etiam cum aliquid a privato[7] nonnunquam, occulte auferebant: et ii tamen condemnabantur. Et, si quaeritis, ut ipse de me detraham,[8] illos ego accusatores[9] puto fuisse, qui ejusmodi hominum furta[10] odore aut aliquo leviter presso vestigio persequebantur. Nam nos quidem quid facimus in Verre, quem in luto volutatum totius corporis vestigiis invenimus! Permagnum est, in eum dicere aliquid, qui praeteriens, lec-

[1] The *equus Trojanus* is here used in a figurative sense, to denote an unexpected danger, which cannot be warded off.

[2] The cases or boxes indicate the value of the things. *Efferri*, like the following infinitives, are historical infinitives.

[3] *Crustae* is the general term for *sigilla*, 'ornaments,' properly, 'coverings.'

[4] That is, *detractis crustis atque emblematis*, which rendered the vessels valuable to the Haluntini.

[5] *Everriculum* is here used figuratively and ironically, being applied to Verres, who amassed everything as it came in his way.

[6] 'From the property of the town.' *Per magistratum*; namely, of the separate towns. Many were in the habit (*solebant*) of inducing the magistrates, by bribes and threats, to commit such faithless acts.

[7] 'From the property of private individuals.' To *nonnunquam*, supply *auferebant*.

[8] Namely, as if there were no real accuser.

[9] 'Accusers in the true sense of the word,' 'real accusers.'

[10] *Furta* are thefts committed in secret, as opposed to the open and violent robberies of Verres.

tica paulisper deposita, non per praestigias,[1] sed palam per potestatem, uno imperio, ostiatim totum oppidum compilaverit. Ac tamen, ut posset dicere se emisse, Archagatho imperat, ut illis aliquid, quorum argentum fuerat, nummulorum dicis causa[2] daret. Invenit Archagathus paucos, qui vellent accipere: iis dedit. Eos nummos tamen iste Archagatho non reddidit. Voluit Romae repetere Archagathus; Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus dissuasit, sicut ipsum dicere audistis. Recita[3] Archagathi et Lentuli testimonium.

Et, ne forte hominem existimetis hanc tantam vim emblematum sine causa[4] coacervare voluisse, videte, quanti[5] vos, quanti existimationem populi Romani, quanti leges et judicia, quanti testes Siculos negotiatoresque fecerit. Posteaquam tantam multitudinem collegerat emblematum, ut ne unum quidem cuiquam reliquisset, instituit officinam Syracusis in regia maximam. Palam artifices omnes, caelatores ac vascularios, convocari jubet: et ipse suos[6] complures habebat. Eos concludit, magnam hominum multitudinem. Menses octo continuos his opus non defuit, cum vas nullum fieret nisi aureum. Tum illa,[7] ex patellis et turibulis quae evellerat, ita scite in aureis poculis illigabat,[8] ita apte in scaphiis aureis includebat, ut ea ad illam rem nata esse diceres: ipse tamen praetor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia dicit fuisse, in hac officina majorem partem diei cum tunica pulla[9] sedere solebat et pallio.

25. Haec ego, judices, non auderem proferre, ni vererer, ne forte plura de isto ab aliis in sermone, quam a me in judicio vos audisse diceretis. Quis enim est, qui de hac officina, qui de vasis aureis, qui de istius pallio non audierit?

[1] *Per praestigias*, equivalent to *quam obscurissime*, 'as secretly as possible.'

[2] *Dicis causa*, 'in order to have the appearance of justice on his side.'

[3] This is addressed to the clerk or secretary.

[4] 'Without an object.'

[5] The answer to this and the following *quanti* is *flocci fecit*; since, contrary to law and justice, he declared everything to belong to him.

[6] Namely, independently of those who had been summoned.

[7] *Illa* refers to the *magna multitudo* mentioned before.

[8] To *illigabat* supply *sigilla*, and to *includebat*, *emblemata*.

[9] *Tunica pulla*, a dress which was unsuitable to a praetor, who was obliged to wear the *senatoria* (called *latus clavus*, from the broad purple stripe): it resembled the *pallium*, which was a Greek dress, not a Roman one.

Quem voles e conventu Syracusano[1] virum bonum nominato: producam: nemo erit, quin hoc se audisse aut vidisse dicat. O tempora, o mores! Nihil nimium vetus proferam. Sunt vestrum aliquam multi, qui L. Pisonem[2] cognorunt, hujus L. Pisonis,[3] qui praetor fuit, patrem. Ei, cum esset in Hispania praetor,[4] qua in provincia occisus est, nescio quo pacto, dum armis exercetur, anulus aureus, quem habebat, fractus et comminutus est. Cum vellet sibi anulum facere, aurificem jussit vocari in forum ad sellam,[5] Cordubae, et palam appendit aurum: hominem in foro jubet sellam ponere et facere anulum omnibus praesentibus. Nimium fortasse dicet aliquis hunc diligentem. Hactenus[6] reprehendet, si qui volet: nihil amplius. Verum fuit ei concedendum.[7] Filius enim L. Pisonis erat, ejus, qui primus de pecuniis repetundis legem tulit.[8] Ridiculum est, me nunc de Verre dicere, cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim: verumtamen quantum intersit videte. Iste cum aliquot abacorum faceret[9] vasa aurea, non laboravit, quid non modo in Sicilia, verum etiam Romae in judicio audiret: ille in auri semuncia[10] totam Hispaniam scire voluit, unde praetori anulus fieret. Nimirum, ut hic nomen[11] suum comprobavit, sic ille cognomen.

26. Nullo modo possum omnia istius facta aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti. Genera ipsa cupio breviter attingere, ut hic modo me commonuit Pisonis anulus, quod

[1] That is, *e civibus Syracusanis*, who had the Roman franchise, or Roman citizens who resided at Syracuse.

[2] This L. Piso was a son of L. Piso Frugi (consul in B.C. 133).

[3] The person here mentioned must have been praetor at the same time with Verres. *Aliquam multi* is the same as *satis multi*.

[4] In the year B.C. 112.

[5] *Ad sellam;* namely, on which he himself used to sit as praetor.

[6] That is, up to the *nimium*.

[7] As this conscientiousness was natural to him, it was necessary to give way to him.

[8] Namely, in his tribuneship in the year B.C. 149.

[9] 'Caused to be made;' namely, by that *magna multitudo*.

[10] Gold, according to the ancients, had ten times the value of silver.

[11] A play upon the names Frugi and Verres: Verres is the person who amasses (*everriculum*), and Frugi the man who is contented or satisfied with little. Verres, too, is properly a cognomen; but Cicero intentionally never calls him by any other name, as if the name Verres, from its meaning, were the only one suited to him. His full name probably was C. Cornelius Verres.

totum effluxerat.[1] Quam multis istum putatis hominibus honestis de digitis anulos abstulisse? nunquam dubitavit,[2] quotienscunque alicujus aut gemma aut anulo delectatus est. Incredibile dicam, sed ita clarum, ut ipsum[3] negaturum non arbitrer. Cum Valentio[4] ejus interpreti epistola Agrigento allata esset, casu signum iste animadvertit in cretula.[5] Placuit ei. Quaesivit, unde esset epistola: respondit, Agrigento. Iste ad quos solebat[6] litteras misit, ut is anulus ad se primo quoque tempore afferretur. Ita litteris istius patrifamilias, L. Titio, civi Romano, anulus de digito detractus est. Illa[7] vero ejus cupiditas incredibilis est. Nam ut[8] in singula conclavia, quae iste non modo Romae, sed in omnibus villis habet, tricenos lectos optime stratos cum ceteris ornamentis convivii quaereret, nimium multa[9] comparare videretur. Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples fuit, ubi iste non textrinum instituerit. Mulier est Segestana,[10] perdives et nobilis, Lamia nomine: per triennium isti, plena domo telarum, stragulam vestem confecit, nihil nisi conchylio tinctum. Attalus, homo pecuniosus, Neti;[11] Lyso Lilybaei; Critolaus Aetnae; Syracusis Aeschrio, Cleomenes, Theomnastus; Helori Archonidas. Dies me citius defecerit, quam nomina. Ipse dabat purpuram, tantum operam amici. Credo:[12] jam enim non

[1] That is, *quod genus ex animo effluxerat*, 'which kind I had altogether forgotten.'

[2] Supply *auferre*.

[3] That is, *Verrem*.

[4] Valentius was the interpreter of Verres; he was not employed, however, by him to translate the Greek language into Latin, but to assist him in amassing his treasures of art.

[5] A kind of clay, which was used in the East, and apparently also in Sicily, instead of sealing-wax. The Romans used wax for sealing their letters.

[6] That is, to those who used to assist him.

[7] *Illa* here points to what follows.

[8] 'Granting that,' 'supposing that.' See *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[9] 'He has amassed so much, that he has even more covers and other ornaments than are needed for entertaining three hundred persons at banquets.' *Videretur* here represents the action as continuing even in present time. See Zumpt, § 525.

[10] Segesta, a town on the north coast, between Eryx and Panormus.

[11] Netum, in the south-eastern part of Sicily; Aetna was a town to the south of Mount Aetna, and Helorum was in the south-eastern corner of the island. To all the names of persons here mentioned we must supply *stragulam vestem confecit*.

[12] Supply *eum purpuram dedisse*.

libet omnia criminari: quasi hoc mihi non satis sit ad crimen, habuisse tam multum, quod daret; voluisse deportare tam multa; hoc denique,[1] quod concedit, amicorum operis[2] esse in hujuscemodi rebus usum. Jam vero lectos aeratos[3] et candelabra aenea, num cui praeter istum Syracusis per triennium facta esse existimatis? Emebat. Credo. Sed tantum vos certiores, judices, facio, quid iste in provincia praetor egerit, ne cui forte[4] negligens nimium fuisse videatur, neque se satis, cum potestatem habuerit, instruxisse et ornasse.

27. Venio nunc non jam ad furtum, non ad avaritiam, non ad cupiditatem, sed ejusmodi facinus, in quo omnia nefaria contineri mihi atque inesse videantur; in quo dii immortales violati, existimatio atque auctoritas nominis populi Romani imminuta, hospitium spoliatum ac proditum, abalienati scelere istius a nobis omnes reges amicissimi nationesque, quae in eorum regno ac dicione sunt. Nam reges Syriae,[5] regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romae nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriae regnum; nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a majoribus acceperant: sed regnum Aegypti ad se et ad Selenen,[6] matrem suam, pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi ipsi posteaquam temporibus[7] rei publicae exclusi per senatum agere quae voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam, in regnum patrium profecti sunt. Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit. Itaque isto praetore[8] venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum[9] ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat

[1] That is, *quasi non satis sit ad crimen*, as if he had acted justly.

[2] *Operae* here is the same as *operarii*.

[3] The *lecti aerati* are a sign of his prodigality, for in ancient times people were satisfied with wooden bedsteads. These *lecti* are either *cubiculares*, for sleeping in the *cubiculum*; or *triclinares*, on which persons reclined at meals in the *triclinium* or *conclave*.

[4] *Ne cui forte* is to be taken ironically. A praetor was not allowed to make use of his power for such purposes.

[5] Namely, Antiochus and Seleucus, sons of Antiochus surnamed ὁ Εὐσεβής; that is, the Pious.

[6] Selene was a sister of Lathyrus, and a daughter of Ptolemy Physcon. Auletes, a natural son of Lathyrus, claimed Egypt after Berenice, the legitimate heiress of the crown, had been killed.

[7] *Tempora* are 'unfavourable circumstances of the times,' alluding to the servile war, B.C. 73.

[8] Verres was at the same time in the first year of his praetorship.

[9] Because Verres actually conducted himself as if he were king.

multa secum praeclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis large, haec[1] ad usum domesticum: olei, vini, quod visum est:[2] etiam tritici quod satis esset, de suis decumis.[3] Deinde ipsum regem ad coenam vocavit: exornat ample magnificeque triclinium: exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima et pulcherrima vasa argentea: (nam haec aurea nondum fecerat:) omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur. Vocat ad coenam deinde ipse praetorem: exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quae, ut mos est regius et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi, trulla[4] excavata, manubrio aureo, de qua satis, credo, idoneum, satis gravem testem, Q. Minucium dicere audistis. Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere,[5] praetori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium. Posteaquam inde discessum est, cogitare nihil iste aliud (quod ipsa res declaravit) nisi, quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quae pulcherrima apud eum viderat: ait se suis caelatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui illum non nosset, sine ulla suspicione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque ei mittitur.

28. Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite, de quo et vos audistis, et populus Romanus non nunc primum audiet, et in exteris nationibus usque ad ultimas terras pervagatum est. Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis, opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent: quod nondum perfectum[6] templum offenderant, neque ponere potuerunt, neque volgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt: ut et magnificentius videretur, cum

[1] 'That which is customary.' [2] Supply *satis*.

[3] Of which it has already been said that they had been extorted.

[4] *Trulla* stands in apposition to *vas:* it was a pointed glass to draw from the *crater*.

[5] *Gaudere* is a historical infinitive, and governs *esse; Gram.* § 381.

[6] The temple of the Capitoline Jupiter was burnt in the year B.C. 83, but Sulla began restoring it in the same style; it was, however, not consecrated till B.C. 69, one year after the composition of the present oration. Q. Catulus performed the ceremony.

suo tempore[1] in cella Jovis Optimi Maximi poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare: ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Optimi Maximi dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum ceteris rebus illud quoque eximium ac pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent. Pervenit res ad istius aures, nescio quomodo. Nam rex celatum voluerat: non quo quicquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege, et eum pluribus verbis rogat, ut id ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili[2] esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est: imperat suis, ut id in praetorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo postea quam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerunt; clamare iste coepit, dignam rem esse regno Syriae, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et pulcherrimis gemmis esse debebat: ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia:[3] ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatum, sed ad amplissimi templi ornatum esse factum. Cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt, ut referrent. Iste ait, se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum: jubet illos discedere et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

29. Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari: dies unus, alter, plures:[4] non referri. Tum mittit, si videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri: mittit iterum. Non redditur. Ipse hominem[5] appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quod ex ipso rege audisset in Capitolio esse ponendum, quod Jovi Optimo Maximo, quod populo Romano servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementissime petere coepit. Cum ille se et religione

[1] 'At the right,' or 'proper time.'

[2] *Puerilis* here is equivalent to *integer*, 'innocent.' Respecting the subjunctive *esset*, see *Gram*, § 360, 6.

[3] To *copia* supply *artis*.

[4] Supply *praetereunt*, 'pass by,' or 'away.'

[5] *Hominem;* that is, *Verrem*—said contemptuously; but below, *homini* and *hominem* are applied to king Antiochus.

Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multae nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris, iste homini minari acerrime coepit. Ubi videt, eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus removeri,[1] repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem decedere: ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas ad Siciliam venturos. Rex maximo conventu[2] Syracusis, in foro, ne quis forte me in crimine obscuro versari atque affingere aliquid suspicione[3] hominum arbitretur, in foro inquam Syracusis flens atque deos hominesque contestans clamare coepit candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo populo Romano monumentum suae societatis amicitiaeque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse: de ceteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quae sua[4] penes illum essent, se non laborare, hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam mente et cogitatione sua fratrisque sui consecratum esset, tamen tum se in illo conventu[5] civium Romanorum dare donare dicare[6] consecrare Jovi Optimo Maximo testemque ipsum Jovem suae voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

30. Quae vox, quae latera, quae vires hujus unius criminis querimoniam possunt sustinere? Rex Antiochus, qui Romae ante oculos omnium nostrum biennium fere comitatu regio atque ornatu fuisset: is cum amicus et socius populi Romani esset, amicissimo patre, avo, majoribus, antiquissimis[7] et clarissimis regibus, opulentissimo et maximo regno, praeceps provincia populi Romani exturbatus est. Quemadmodum hoc accepturas nationes exteras, quemadmodum hujus tui facti famam in regna aliorum atque in ultimas terras perventuram putasti, cum audirent, a praetore populi Romani in provincia violatum regem, spoliatum hospitem, ejectum socium populi Romani atque amicum? Nomen

[1] Supply *a petitione sua*, 'from his just demand.'
[2] See above, chap. 25.
[3] 'On the ground of a mere suspicion,' or 'a report.'
[4] 'Being part of his own property.'
[5] Namely, at Syracuse.
[6] The three verbs *dare*, *donare*, *dicare*, were commonly used in making a solemn donation; to these is here added the verb *consecrare*.
[7] That is, from the death of Alexander the Great and the division of his empire. By *clarissimis*, Cicero alludes especially to Antiochus the Great, who was conquered in B. C. 190 by L. Scipio Asiaticus.

vestrum populique Romani odio atque acerbitati scitote nationibus exteris, judices, futurum, si istius haec tanta injuria impunita discesserit. Sic omnes arbitrabuntur, praesertim cum haec fama de nostrorum hominum[1] avaritia et cupiditate percrebruerit, non istius solius hoc esse facinus sed eorum etiam, qui approbarint. Multi reges, multae liberae civitates, multi privati opulenti ac potentes habent profecto in animo Capitolium sic ornare, ut templi dignitas imperiique nostri nomen desiderat:[2] qui si intellexerint, interverso hoc regali dono, graviter vos tulisse, grata fore vobis populoque Romano sua studia ac dona arbitrabuntur. Sin hoc vos in rege tam nobili, re tam eximia, injuria tam acerba, neglexisse audient, non erunt tam amentes, ut operam, curam, pecuniam impendant in eas res, quas vobis gratas fore non arbitrentur.

31. Hoc loco, Q. Catule,[3] te appello. Loquor enim de tuo clarissimo pulcherrimoque monumento:[4] non judicis[5] solum severitatem in hoc crimine, sed prope inimici atque accusatoris vim suscipere debes. Tuus enim honos illo templo senatus populique Romani beneficio,[6] tui nominis aeterna memoria simul cum templo illo consecratur: tibi haec cura suscipienda, tibi haec opera sumenda est, ut Capitolium, quemadmodum magnificentius est restitutum, sic copiosius ornatum sit, quam fuit; ut illa flamma divinitus extitisse videatur, non quae deleret Jovis Optimi Maximi templum, sed quae praeclarius magnificentiusque deposceret. Audisti Q. Minucium dicere domi suae deversatum esse Antiochum regem Syracusis: se illud scire ad istum esse delatum: se scire non redditum: audisti et audies omni e conventu Syracusano qui ita dicant, sese audientibus illud Jovi Optimo Maximo dicatum esse a rege Antiocho et consecratum. Si judex[7] non esses, et haec ad te delata res esset, te potissimum

[1] 'Of our countrymen,' or 'of our governors.'
[2] See chap 28.
[3] About Q. Catulus, see chap. 28. He was consul in B. C. 78.
[4] That is, of the Capitoline temple dedicated by thee.
[5] In one of the previous speeches, Q. Catulus is mentioned as judge in the suit against Verres.
[6] The offices to which persons were elected by the people are usually called *beneficia*.
[7] As *judex*, he was entitled only to hear the case, but not to make *any inquiries*.

hoc persequi, te petere, te agere oporteret. Quare non dubito, quo animo judex hujus criminis esse debeas, qui apud alium judicem multo acrior, quam ego sum, actor accusatorque esse deberes.

32. Vobis autem, judices, quid hoc indignius, aut quid minus ferendum videri potest? Verresne habebit domi suae candelabrum Jovis, e gemmis auroque perfectum? cujus fulgore collucere atque illustrari Jovis Optimi Maximi templum oportebat, id apud istum in ejusmodi conviviis constituetur, quae domesticis stupris flagitiisque flagrabunt? In istius lenonis turpissimi domo simul cum ceteris Chelidonis[1] hereditariis ornamentis Capitolii ornamenta ponentur? Quid huic sacri unquam fore, aut quid religiosi fuisse putatis, qui nunc tanto scelere se obstrictum esse non sentiat? qui in judicium veniat, ubi ne precari quidem Jovem Optimum Maximum atque ab eo auxilium petere more omnium[2] possit? a quo etiam dii immortales sua repetunt in eo judicio, quod hominibus ad suas res repetendas est constitutum. Miramur, Athenis Minervam, Deli Apollinem, Junonem Sami, Pergae[3] Dianam, multos praeterea ab isto deos tota Asia Graeciaque violatos, qui a Capitolio manus abstinere non potuerit? Quod privati homines de suis pecuniis ornant ornaturique sunt, id C. Verres ab regibus[4] ornari non passus est.

Itaque hoc nefario scelere concepto, nihil postea tota in Sicilia neque sacri neque religiosi duxit esse: ita sese in ea provincia per triennium gessit, ut ab isto non solum hominibus, verum etiam diis immortalibus bellum indictum putaretur.

33. Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Sicilia, judices, quod b Aenea fugiente a Troja atque in haec loca veniente conitum esse demonstrant.[5] Itaque Segestani non solum pertua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se m populo Romano conjunctos esse arbitrantur. Hoc quon-

Chelidon was a female friend of Verres, and left her property to
1.
As all accused persons are in the habit of doing.
Perga was a town in Pamphylia.
That is, *ab Antiocho et fratre.*
According to another tradition, Acestes, in building the town of
sta, was assisted by Aeneas, to whom a temple was dedicated in
place.

dam oppidum, cum illa civitas cum Poenis suo nomine[1] ac sua sponte bellaret, a Carthaginiensibus vi captum atque deletum est:[2] omniaque, quae ornamento urbi esse possent, Carthaginem sunt ex illo loco deportata. Fuit apud Segestanos ex aere Dianae simulacrum, cum summa atque antiquissima praeditum religione, tum singulari opere artificioque perfectum. Hoc translatum Carthaginem locum tantum hominesque mutarat, religionem quidem pristinam conservabat: nam propter eximiam pulchritudinem etiam hostibus digna quam[3] sanctissime colerent videbatur. Aliquot saeculis post P. Scipio[4] bello Punico tertio Carthaginem cepit: qua in victoria (videte hominis virtutem et diligentiam, ut et domesticis praeclarissimae virtutis exemplis gaudeatis, et eo majore odio dignam istius incredibilem audaciam judicetis) convocatis Siculis omnibus, quod diutissime saepissimeque Siciliam vexatam a Carthaginiensibus esse cognorat, jubet omnia conquiri: pollicetur, sibi magnae curae fore, ut omnia civitatibus, quae cujusque fuissent, restituerentur. Tum illa, quae quondam erant Himera[5] sublata, de quibus ante dixi, Thermitanis sunt reddita: tum alia Gelensibus,[6] alia Agrigentinis: in quibus etiam ille nobilis taurus,[7] quem crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris habuisse dicitur, quo vivos supplicii causa demittere homines et subjicere flammam solebat. Quem taurum cum Scipio redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur aequum esse illos cogitare, utrum esset Agrigentinis utilius, suisne[8] servire, anne populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticae crudelitatis et nostrae mansuetudinis haberent.

34. Illo tempore Segestanis maxima cum cura haec ipsa

[1] *Suo nomine* intimates that the town was then yet independent.
[2] Namely, before the outbreak of the first Punic war.
[3] Respecting the construction of *dignus*, see *Gram.* § 360, 2.
[4] That is, Scipio Africanus minor, the destroyer of Carthage, B. C. 146.
[5] Himera, a town on the north coast of Sicily, east of Panormus. The works here alluded to were a female statue representing Himera, and one of the poet Stesichorus, which were carried away after the destruction of the town by the Carthaginians. The surviving inhabitants of Himera settled at Thermae, on the east of Himera. See Cicero *in Verr.* lib. ii.
[6] Gela, a town on the south coast, south-east of Agrigentum.
[7] This bull was the work of the celebrated artist Perillus.
[8] Alludes to such tyrants as Phalaris.

Diana, de qua dicimus, redditur: reportatur Segestam: in suis antiquis sedibus summa cum gratulatione civium et laetitia reponitur. Haec erat posita Segestae, sane excelsa in basi: in qua grandibus litteris P. Africani nomen erat incisum, eumque Carthagine capta restituisse, perscriptum. Colebatur a civibus: ab omnibus advenis visebatur: cum quaestor essem,[1] nihil mihi ab illis est demonstratum prius. Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola:[2] verumtamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus virginalis. Sagittae pendebant ab humero: sinistra manu retinebat arcum: dextra ardentem facem praeferebat. Hanc cum iste sacrorum omnium et religionum hostis praedoque vidisset, quasi illa ipsa face percussus esset, ita flagrare cupiditate atque amentia coepit. Imperat magistratibus, ut eam demoliantur et sibi dent: nihil sibi gratius ostendit futurum. Illi vero dicere, sibi id nefas esse: seseque cum summa religione, tum summo metu legum et judiciorum teneri. Iste tum petere ab illis, tum minari, tum spem, tum metum ostendere. Opponebant illi nomen interdum P. Africani: populi Romani illud[3] esse dicebant: nihil se in eo potestatis habere, quod imperator clarissimus, urbe hostium[4] capta, monumentum victoriae populi Romani esse voluisset. Cum iste nihilo remissius atque etiam multo vehementius instaret cotidie, res agitur in senatu. Vehementer ab omnibus reclamatur. Itaque illo tempore ac primo istius adventu pernegatur. Postea, quicquid erat oneris in nautis remigibusque exigendis, in frumento imperando, Segestanis praeter ceteros imponebat[5] aliquanto amplius, quam ferre possent. Praeterea magistratus eorum evocabat: optimum quemque et nobilissimum ad se arcessebat: circum omnia provinciae fora[6] rapiebat: singillatim unicuique calamitati fore se denuntiabat: universis se funditus eversurum esse illam civi-

[1] Namely, at Lilybaeum, in B. C. 76.

[2] *Stola* is a long flowing garment worn by females.

[3] *Illud* refers to *simulacrum Dianae.*

[4] That is, of the Carthaginians, the enemies of both Segesta and Rome.

[5] The subject to *imponebat* and *evocabat* is *Verres.* To *evocabat* supply *ad se;* the thing must have been troublesome to every one.

[6] *Fora* are the places to which he went to hold courts of justice. He accordingly dragged these Segestans about with him wherever he went, though *they had much* more important business at home.

tatem minabatur. Itaque aliquando multis malis magnoque metu victi Segestani praetoris imperio parendum esse decreverunt. Magno cum luctu et gemitu totius civitatis, multis cum lacrimis et lamentationibus virorum mulierumque omnium simulacrum Dianae tollendum locatur.

35. Videte quanta religio fuerit apud Segestanos: repertum esse, judices, scitote neminem, neque liberum, neque servum, neque civem, neque peregrinum, qui illud signum auderet attingere. Barbaros[1] quosdam Lilybaeo scitote adductos esse operarios. Hi denique illud ignari totius negotii ac religionis mercede accepta sustulerunt: quod cum ex oppido exportabatur, quem conventum mulierum factum esse arbitramini? quem fletum majorum natu? quorum nonnulli etiam illum diem memoria tenebant,[2] cum illa eadem Diana Segestam Carthagine revecta victoriam populi Romani reditu suo nuntiasset. Quam dissimilis hic dies illi tempori videbatur! Tum imperator populi Romani, vir clarissimus, deos patrios reportabat Segestanis ex urbe hostium recuperatos: nunc ex urbe sociorum praetor ejusdem populi turpissimus atque impurissimus eosdem illos deos nefario scelere auferebat. Quid hoc tota Sicilia est clarius, quam omnes Segestae matronas et virgines convenisse, cum Diana exportaretur ex oppido? unxisse unguentis? complesse coronis et floribus? ture, odoribus incensis usque ad agri fines prosecutas esse? Hanc tu tantam religionem si tum in imperio propter cupiditatem atque audaciam non pertimescebas: ne nunc quidem in tanto tuo liberorumque tuorum periculo perhorrescis? Quem tibi aut hominem, invitis diis immortalibus, aut vero deum, tantis eorum religionibus violatis, auxilio futurum putas? Tibi illa Diana in pace atque in otio religionem nullam attulit? quae cum duas urbes, in quibus locata fuerat, captas incensasque vidisset, bis ex duorum bellorum flamma ferroque servata est; quae Carthaginiensium victoria, loco mutato, religionem tamen non amisit, P. Africani virtute religionem simul cum loco recuperavit. Quo quidem scelere suscepto, cum inanis esset

[1] The western corner of Sicily had not been colonised by Greeks, and was inhabited by the ancient Sicani and Carthaginian colonists, who are here called *barbari*.

[2] Namely, the oldest people; for about seventy years had elapsed since that event.

basis, et in ea P. Africani nomen incisum, res indigna atque intoleranda videbatur omnibus, non solum religiones esse violatas, verum etiam P. Africani, viri fortissimi, rerum gestarum gloriam, memoriam virtutis, monumenta victoriae, C. Verrem sustulisse. Quod cum isti renuntiaretur de basi ac litteris, existimavit homines in oblivionem totius negotii esse venturos, si etiam basim, tamquam indicem sui sceleris, sustulisset. Itaque tollendam istius imperio[1] locaverunt: quae vobis locatio ex publicis litteris Segestanorum priore actione[2] recitata est.

36. Te nunc, P. Scipio,[3] te, inquam, lectissimum ornatissimumque adolescentem appello: abs te officium tuum debitum generi et nomini requiro et flagito. Cur pro isto, qui laudem honoremque familiae vestrae[4] depeculatus est, pugnas? cur eum defensum esse vis? cur ego tuas partes suscipio?[5] cur tuum munus sustineo? Cur M. Tullius P. Africani monumenta requirit: P. Scipio eum, qui illa sustulit, defendit? Cum mos a majoribus traditus sit, ut monumenta majorum ita suorum quisque defendat, ut ne ornari quidem nomine aliorum sinat: tu isti aderis, qui non obstruxit aliqua ex parte monumento P. Scipionis, sed id funditus delevit ac sustulit? Quisnam igitur, per deos immortales! tuebitur P. Scipionis memoriam mortui? quis monumenta atque indicia virtutis, si tu ea relinques aut deseres? nec solum spoliata illa patiere, sed eorum etiam spoliatorem vexatoremque defendes? Adsunt Segestani, clientes tui, socii populi Romani atque amici: certiorem te faciunt, P. Africanum, Carthagine deleta, simulacrum Dianae majoribus suis restituisse; idque apud Segestanos ejus imperatoris nomine positum ac dedicatum fuisse; hoc Verrem demoliendum et asportandum nomenque omnino P. Scipionis delendum tollendumque curasse: orant te atque obsecrant, ut sibi religionem, generi tuo laudem gloriamque restituas,

[1] That is, *Verre imperante.*

[2] 'In the first action against Verres.'

[3] P. Scipio, surnamed Nasica, was the father-in-law of Cn. Pompey, and consul in B.C. 52. After his defeat at Thapsus, he made away with himself, B.C. 46. He now defended Verres.

[4] That is, of all the Scipios, both the dead and the living.

[5] 'Why do I take up thy part and thy name, seeing that thou art my opponent?'

ut, quod per P. Africanum ex urbe hostium recuperarint, id per te ex praetoris domo conservare possint.

37. Quid aut tu his respondere honeste potes, aut illi facere,[1] nisi ut te ac fidem tuam implorent? Adsunt et implorant. Potes domesticae laudis amplitudinem, Scipio, tueri: potes: omnia sunt in te, quae aut fortuna hominibus aut natura largitur: non praecerpo[2] fructum officii tui:[3] non alienam mihi laudem appeto: non est pudoris mei, P. Scipione, florentissimo adolescente, vivo et incolumi, me propugnatorem P. Scipionis defensoremque profiteri. Quamobrem si suscipis domesticae laudis[4] patrocinium, me non solum silere de vestris monumentis[5] oportebit, sed etiam laetari, P. Africani ejusmodi fortunam esse mortui, ut ejus honos ab eis, qui ex eadem familia sunt, defendatur neque ullum adventicium auxilium requiratur. Sin istius amicitia te impedit, si hoc, quod ego abs te postulo, minus ad officium tuum pertinere arbitrabere, succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri; suscipiam partes,[6] quas alienas esse arbitrabar. *Tandem* ista praeclara nobilitas[7] desinat queri, populum Romanum hominibus novis industriis libenter honores mandare semperque mandasse. Non est querendum in hac civitate, quae propter virtutem omnibus nationibus imperat, virtutem plurimum posse. Sit apud alios[8] imago P. Africani; ornentur alii mortui virtute ac nomine: talis ille vir fuit, ita de populo Romano meritus est, ut non uni familiae, sed universae civitati commendatus esse debeat. Est aliqua mea pars virilis, quod ejus civitatis sum, quam ille claram, amplam illustremque reddidit; praecipue quod in his rebus

[1] Supply *honeste possunt*. Cicero answers only to the latter part of the question; and to the first we must supply—'what else can you say in answer, than that you will grant their request?'

[2] Namely, by my accusation.

[3] 'Of the service which you can render.'

[4] 'The glory inherited from your ancestors, and identified with your family.'

[5] Supply *gloriae ac laudis*.

[6] Namely, to maintain and preserve the fame of Scipio Africanus. To *alienas*, supply *a me*, because it was the duty of P. Scipio.

[7] The ancient patrician families, which in their struggles with the plebeians had lost all their privileges, though they had not renounced them in their hearts, and gladly took every opportunity of reverting to them.

[8] That is, with his family and his descendants. *Ornentur* may be taken in a reflective sense, 'adorn themselves.'

pro mea parte versor, quarum ille princeps fuit aequitate, industria, temperantia, defensione miserorum, odio improborum: quae cognatio studiorum et artium propemodum non minus est conjuncta, quam ista, qua vos[1] delectamini, generis et nominis.

38. Repeto abs te, Verres, monumentum P. Africani: causam Siculorum, quam suscepi, relinquo; judicium de pecuniis repetundis ne sit hoc tempore; Segestanorum injuriae negligantur: basis P. Scipionis restituatur; nomen invicti imperatoris incidatur, signum pulcherrimum Carthagine captum reponatur. Haec abs te non Siculorum defensor, non tuus accusator, non Segestani postulant: sed is, qui laudem gloriamque P. Africani tuendam conservandamque suscepit. Non vereor, ne hoc officium meum P. Servilio judici non probem; qui, cum res maximas[2] gesserit, monumentaque suarum rerum gestarum cummaxime constituat atque in iis elaboret, profecto volet haec non solum suis posteris, verum etiam omnibus viris fortibus et bonis civibus defendenda, non spolianda improbis tradere. Non vereor, ne tibi, Q. Catule, displiceat, cujus amplissimum[3] in orbe terrarum clarissimumque monumentum est, quam plurimos esse custodes monumentorum et putare omnes bonos[4] alienae gloriae defensionem ad officium suum pertinere. Equidem ceteris istius furtis atque flagitiis ita moveor, ut ea reprehendenda tantum putem: hic vero tanto dolore afficior, ut nihil mihi indignius, nihil minus ferendum esse videatur. Verres Africani monumentis domum suam, plenam stupri, plenam flagitii, plenam dedecoris, ornabit? Verres temperantissimi sanctissimique viri monumentum, Dianae simulacrum virginis, in ea domo collocabit, in qua semper meretricum lenonumque flagitia versantur?

39. At hoc solum[5] Africani monumentum violasti. Quid?

[1] 'You who have his image among you, and adorn yourselves with his glory.'

[2] That is, his successful wars in Asia, where he subdued the Isaurians, and made Cilicia a Roman province, B.C. 75. From these feats he derived the surname Isauricus, and was honoured with a triumph in B.C. 71.

[3] The newly-built temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, which was to be dedicated by Q. Catulus.

[4] The accusative *omnes bonos* is the subject to *putare*.

[5] 'But perhaps you have violated only this one,' &c. is ironical, and said as if it were Verres' own excuse.

a Tyndaritanis non ejusdem Scipionis beneficio positum simulacrum Mercurii, pulcherrime factum, sustulisti? At quemadmodum, dii immortales! quam audacter! quam libidinose! quam impudenter! Audistis nuper[1] dicere legatos Tyndaritanos, homines honestissimos ac principes civitatis, Mercurium,[2] qui sacris anniversariis apud eos ac summa religione coleretur, quem P. Africanus, Carthagine capta, Tyndaritanis non solum suae victoriae, sed etiam illorum fidei societatisque monumentum atque indicium dedisset, hujus vi, scelere imperioque esse sublatum. Qui, ut primum in illud oppidum venit, statim, tamquam ita fieri non solum oporteret, sed etiam necesse esset, tamquam hoc senatus mandasset, populus Romanus jussisset; ita continuo, signum ut demolirentur[3] et Messanam deportarent, imperavit. Quod cum illis, qui aderant, indignum, qui audiebant, incredibile videretur, non est ab isto, primo illo adventu,[4] perseveratum. Discedens mandat proagoro[5] Sopatro, cujus verba audistis, ut demoliatur: cum recusaret, vehementer minatur: et statim ex illo oppido proficiscitur. Refert rem ille[6] ad senatum: vehementer undique reclamatur. Ne multa: iterum iste ad illos aliquanto post venit, quaerit continuo de signo. Respondetur ei, senatum non permittere; poenam capitis constitutam, si injussu senatus quisquam attigisset: simul religio commemoratur. Tum iste: Quam mihi religionem narras?[7] quam poenam? quem senatum? vivum te non relinquam: moriere virgis, nisi mihi signum traditur. Sopater iterum flens ad senatum rem defert, istius cupiditatem minasque demonstrat. Senatus Sopatro responsum nullum dat, sed commotus perturbatusque discedit. Ille praetoris arcessitus nuntio, rem demonstrat: negat ullo modo fieri posse.

40. Atque haec (nihil enim praetermittendum de istius

[1] As already mentioned by Cicero in a previous oration.

[2] Mercury was worshipped at Tyndaris, a commercial town on the sea-coast.

[3] *Demoliri* here is, 'to take down from its pedestal.'

[4] 'As soon as he arrived in Sicily and in that town.'

[5] See above, chap. 23. The *proagorus* appears to have been the chief magistrate in several Sicilian towns.

[6] *Ille* refers to Sopater. The senate here mentioned is that of Tyndaris.

[7] A contemptuous expression, 'What care I for thy *religio*?'

impudentia videtur) agebantur in conventu, palam, de sella[1] ac de loco superiore. Erat hiems summa, tempestas, ut ipsum Sopatrum dicere audistis, perfrigida, imber maximus: cum iste imperat lictoribus, ut Sopatrum de porticu, in qua ipse sedebat, praecipitem in forum dejiciant nudumque constituant. Vix erat hoc plane imperatum, cum illum spoliatum stipatumque lictoribus videres. Omnes id fore putabant, ut miser atque innocens virgis caederetur: fefellit hic[2] homines opinio. Virgis iste caederet sine causa[3] socium populi Romani atque amicum? Non usque eo est improbus: non omnia sunt in uno vitia; nunquam fuit crudelis. Leniter hominem clementerque accepit. Equestres sunt medio in foro Marcellorum[4] statuae, sicuti fere ceteris in oppidis Siciliae: ex quibus iste C. Marcelli[5] statuam delegit, cujus officia in illam civitatem totamque provinciam recentissima erant et maxima. In ea Sopatrum, hominem cum domi nobilem, tum summo magistratu praeditum, divaricari ac deligari jubet. Quo cruciatu sit affectus, venire in mentem necesse est omnibus, cum esset vinctus nudus in aere,[6] in imbri, in frigore. Neque tamen finis huic injuriae crudelitatique fiebat, donec populus atque universa multitudo atrocitate rei misericordiaque commota senatum clamore coëgit, ut isti simulacrum illud Mercurii polliceretur. Clamabant fore, ut ipsi se dii immortales ulciscerentur: hominem interea perire innocentem non oportere. Tum frequens senatus ad istum venit: pollicetur signum. Ita Sopater de statua C. Marcelli, cum jam paene obriguisset, vix vivus aufertur.

Non possum disposite istum accusare, si cupiam: opus est non solum ingenio, verum etiam artificio[7] quodam singulari.

[1] That is, the *sella praetoria*.

[2] *Hic* equivalent to *in hac re*, 'in this matter.'

[3] *Sine causa*, down to *crudelis*, must be taken in an ironical sense; for his cruelty is afterwards expressly mentioned.

[4] The family of the Marcelli were the patrons of the Sicilians. See Liv. xxvi. 32.

[5] C. Marcellus had been praetor in Sicily some years before, and now was one of the judges in the trial of Verres.

[6] That is, *in equo aeneo*, the natural coldness of the metal being intended to increase the torment.

[7] Namely, for the purpose of showing, as is done in what follows, of how many crimes Verres made himself guilty by such an act.

41. Unum hoc crimen videtur esse, et a me pro uno ponitur, de Mercurio Tyndaritano: plura sunt; sed ea quo pacto distinguere ac separare possim, nescio. Est pecuniarum captarum,[1] quod signum ab sociis pecuniae magnae sustulit. Est peculatus, quod publicum populi Romani signum, de praeda hostium captum, positum imperatoris nostri[2] nomine, non dubitavit auferre. Est majestatis, quod imperii nostri gloriae rerumque gestarum monumenta evertere atque asportare ausus est. Est sceleris, quod religiones maximas[3] violavit. Est crudelitatis, quod in hominem innocentem, in socium nostrum atque amicum, novum ac singulare supplicii genus excogitavit. Illud vero quid sit, jam non queo dicere; quo nomine appellem, nescio: quod in C. Marcelli statua.[4] Quid est hoc? Patronusne quod erat? Quid tum? quo id spectat? Utrum ea res ad opem,[5] an ad calamitatem clientium atque hospitum valere debebat? an ut hoc ostenderes, contra vim tuam in patronis praesidii nihil esse? Quis non hoc intelligeret, in improbi praesentis imperio majorem esse vim, quam in bonorum absentium patrocinio? An vero ex hoc illa tua singularis significatur insolentia, superbia, contumacia? Detrahere videlicet aliquid te de amplitudine Marcellorum putasti. Itaque[6] nunc Siculorum Marcelli non sunt patroni: Verres in eorum locum substitutus est. Quam in te tantam virtutem esse aut dignitatem arbitratus es, ut conarere clientelam tam splendidae, tam illustris provinciae traducere ad te, auferre a certissimis antiquissimisque patronis? Tu ista[7] nequitia, stultitia, inertia non modo totius Siciliae, sed unius tenuissimi Siculi clientelam tueri potes? Tibi Marcelli statua pro patibulo[8]

[1] To *pecuniarum captarum* supply *crimen;* extortion—embezzlement—high treason—impiety—cruelty—all are combined in this one act.

[2] That is, of P. Scipio Africanus.

[3] Namely, of the city of Tyndaris. Among the Romans, too, Mercury was one of the *dii consentes.*

[4] Supply *Sopatrum divaricari et deligari jussit.*

[5] To *opem* supply *demonstrandam.*

[6] *Itaque* here is equivalent to *scilicet*, being used ironically. Verres substituted himself by destroying the *patronatus* of the Marcelli, which he treated with scorn and contempt.

[7] *Ista*, equivalent to *tua*, or *ista tua.*

[8] *Patibulum* alludes to the expression *divaricari* in the preceding chapter.

in clientes Marcellorum fuit? tu ex illius honore[1] in eos ipsos, qui honorem habuerant, supplicia quaerebas? Quid postea? quid tandem tuis statuis fore arbitrabare? An vero quod accidit? Nam Tyndaritani statuam istius, quam sibi propter Marcellos,[2] altiore etiam basi, poni jusserat, deturbarunt, simulac successum isti audierunt.

42. Dedit igitur tibi nunc fortuna Siculorum C. Marcellum judicem, ut, cujus ad statuam Siculi, te praetore, alligabantur, ejus religione te iisdem devinctum adstrictumque dedamus. Ac primo, judices, hoc signum Mercurii dicebat iste Tyndaritanos M. Marcello huic Aesernino[3] vendidisse: atque hoc sua[4] causa etiam M. Marcellum ipsum sperabat esse dicturum: quod mihi nunquam veri simile visum est, adolescentem illo loco natum, patronum Siciliae, nomen suum isti ad translationem criminis commodaturum. Verumtamen ita mihi[5] res tota provisa atque praecauta est, ut, si maxime esset inventus, qui in se suscipere istius culpam crimenque cuperet, tamen is proficere nihil posset. Eos enim deduxi testes, et eas litteras deportavi, ut de istius facto dubium esse nemini posset. Publicae[6] litterae sunt, deportatum Mercurium esse Messanam sumptu publico. Dicent, quanti.[7] Praefuisse huic negotio publice legatum Poleam. Quid? is ubi est? Praesto est: testis est. Proagori Sopatri jussu.[8] Quis est hic? Qui ad statuam adstrictus est. Quid? is ubi est? Vidistis hominem, et verba ejus audistis. Demoliendum curavit[9] Demetrius gymnasiarchus, quod is ei loco praeerat.[10] Quid? hoc nos dicimus? Immo vero ipse[11] praesens: Romae nuper istum ipsum esse

[1] 'You changed the honorary statue into an instrument of torture against those who had set up that monument for the purpose of honouring him.'

[2] Namely, to raise himself above them.

[3] Aeserninus was consul in B.C. 51, twenty years after these occurrences.

[4] 'In his (Verres') interest.'

[5] *Mihi* for *a me*; see *Gram.* § 271.

[6] Namely, of the senate of Tyndaris.

[7] Supply *litterae*, 'how much the expenses for the transport amounted to.'

[8] Supply *deportatum esse Messanam.*

[9] *Curavit* forms the transition to the oratio recta, or direct speech.

[10] *Praeesse*, 'to superintend.'

[11] That is, *Demetrius.* *Istum ipsum* points to Verres, and the infinitive *esse pollicitum* depends upon the *dixit* below.

pollicitum, sese id signum legatis redditurum, si ejus rei testificatio tolleretur cautumque esset, eos testimonium non esse dicturos. Dixit hoc apud vos Zosippus et Ismenias, homines nobilissimi et principes Tyndaritanae civitatis.

43. Quid? Agrigento nonne ejusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femore litteris minutis argenteis nomen Myronis[1] erat inscriptum, ex Aesculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti? Quod quidem, judices, cum iste clam fecisset, cum ad suum scelus illud furtumque nefarium quosdam homines improbos duces atque adjutores adhibuisset, vehementer commota civitas est. Uno enim tempore[2] Agrigentini beneficium Africani, religionem domesticam, ornamentum urbis, indicium victoriae, testimonium societatis, requirebant. Itaque ab iis, qui principes in ea civitate erant, praecipitur et negotium datur quaestoribus et aedilibus,[3] ut noctu vigilias agerent ad aedes sacras. Etenim iste Agrigenti (credo propter multitudinem illorum hominum atque virtutem et quod cives Romani, viri fortes atque honesti, permulti in illo oppido conjunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt ac negotiantur) non audebat palam poscere aut tollere, quae placebant. Herculis templum est apud Agrigentinos, non longe a foro, sane sanctum apud illos et religiosum. Ibi est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius (tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intelligo,[4] quam multa vidi), usque eo, judices, ut rictum ejus ac mentum paulo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus[5] non solum id venerari, verum etiam osculari solent. Ad hoc templum, cum esset iste Agrigenti, duce Timarchide, repente, nocte intempesta, servorum armatorum fit concursus atque impetus. Clamor a vigilibus fanique custodibus tollitur: qui primo cum obsistere ac defendere conarentur, male mulcati[6] clavis ac fustibus re-

[1] Respecting Myron, see chap. 3.

[2] Because they had lost all, at the same time that they had lost the statue of the god.

[3] The quaestors and aediles here mentioned are those of the town of Agrigentum.

[4] An affectation of modesty; see, however, p. 19, note 6.

[5] *Gratulationes* are thanksgivings, or 'expressions of gratitude.' *Venerari* here signifies, 'to touch reverentially.'

[6] 'Sadly ill treated.'

tur. Postea, convolsis repagulis effractisque valvis, iri signum ac vectibus labefactare conantur. Interea ımore fama tota urbe percrebruit expugnari deos s, non hostium adventu necopinato neque repentino onum impetu, sed ex domo atque ex cohorte praetoria m fugitivorum[1] instructam armatamque venisse. Nemo enti neque aetate tam affecta neque viribus tam in- fuit, qui non illa nocte eo nuntio excitatus surrexerit que, quod cuique fors offerebat, arripuerit. Itaque tempore ad fanum ex urbe tota concurritur. Horam us jam in demoliendo signo permulti homines molie- r: illud interea nulla labebat ex parte; cum alii vec- subjectis conarentur commovere, alii deligatum omni- ıembris rapere ad se funibus. Ac repente Agrigentini rrunt: fit magna lapidatio: dant sese in fugam istius ıari imperatoris nocturni milites: duo tamen sigilla rvula tollunt, ne omnino inanes ad istum praedonem onum revertantur. Nunquam tam male est Siculis, aliquid facete et commode dicant:[2] velut in hac bant in labores Herculis[3] non minus hunc immanis- n Verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri ere.

Hanc virtutem Agrigentinorum imitati sunt Assorini[4] , viri fortes et fideles, sed nequaquam ex tam ampla tam ex nobili civitate. Chrysas est amnis, qui per inorum agros fluit. Is apud illos habetur deus et reli- maxima colitur. Fanum ejus est in agro propter ipsam qua Assoro itur Ennam. In eo Chrysae simulacrum aeclare factum e marmore. Id iste poscere Assorinos er singularem ejus fani religionem non ausus est: Tle- o[5] dat et Hieroni negotium. Illi noctu, facta[6] manu aque, veniunt: fores aedis effringunt: aeditui custodes-

gitivi is here used in the sense of *servi*, it being peculiar to slaves to flight. Here they come, in the night, like thieves, who have fear a regular or organized resistance; whence afterwards we *lant sese in fugam.*

nquam—dicant, 'the Sicilians can never be so badly off, as to eir humour.' This saying was proverbial.

cause he had evaded or resisted the nets and snares laid for It must be remembered that *verres* means 'a boar,' like *aper.*

sorum was a town between Enna and Agyrium.

polemus and Hiero were Verres' catchpoles.

ctus here has the meaning of 'hired.'

que mature sentiunt: signum, quod erat notum vicinitati, bucina datur: homines ex agris concurrunt: ejicitur fugaturque Tlepolemus: neque quicquam ex fano Chrysae praeter unum perparvulum signum ex aere desideratum est.

Matris magnae[1] fanum apud Enguinos[2] est. (Jam enim non modo breviter mihi de unoquoque dicendum, sed etiam praetereunda videntur esse permulta, ut ad majora istius et illustriora in hoc genere furta et scelera veniamus.) In hoc fano loricas galeasque aeneas, caelatas opere Corinthio,[3] hydriasque grandes, simili in genere atque eadem arte perfectas, idem ille Scipio, vir omnibus rebus praecellentissimus, posuerat, et suum nomen inscripserat. Quid jam de isto plura dicam aut querar? omnia illa, judices, abstulit: nihil in religiosissimo fano, praeter vestigia[4] violatae religionis nomenque[5] P. Scipionis, reliquit: hostium spolia, monumenta imperatorum,[6] decora atque ornamenta fanorum posthac, his praeclaris nominibus amissis,[7] in instrumento atque in supellectile C. Verris nominabuntur. Tu videlicet solus vasis Corinthiis delectaris: tu illius aeris temperationem,[8] tu operum lineamenta sollertissime perspicis. Haec Scipio ille non intelligebat, homo doctissimus atque humanissimus: tu sine ulla bona arte, sine humanitate, sine ingenio, sine litteris, intelligis et judicas. Vide, ne ille non solum temperantia, sed etiam intelligentia te atque istos, qui se elegantes[9] dici volunt, vicerit. Nam quia, quam pulchra essent, intelligebat, idcirco existimabat, ea non ad hominum luxuriem, sed ornatum fanorum atque oppidorum esse facta, ut posteris nostris monumenta religiosa esse videantur.

[1] The *mater magna* is Cybele, whose worship had been introduced into Sicily and Italy from the East, where it was most flourishing in Phrygia.

[2] Enguinum, a town in the south of Sicily.

[3] 'Of Corinthian brass.'

[4] The *vestigia* are both the temples themselves and the empty places in them where the treasures and ornaments had been kept.

[5] *Nomen* here is equivalent to *memoria*.

[6] The presents dedicated in the temple in remembrance of the generals and their victories.

[7] Namely, by destroying the inscriptions.

[8] *Temperatio* is the proper mixture of metals, in which none predominates. The word is used as a play upon *temperantia*, 'the right mixture or combination of virtues.'

[9] *Elegantes*, 'refined connoisseurs of art.'

45. Audite etiam singularem ejus, judices, cupiditatem, audaciam, amentiam in iis praesertim sacris polluendis, quae non modo manibus attingi, sed ne cogitatione quidem violari fas fuit. Sacrarium Cereris est apud Catinenses, eadem religione, qua Romae, qua in ceteris locis, qua prope in toto orbe terrarum. In eo sacrario intimo[1] signum fuit Cereris perantiquum, quod viri non modo cujusmodi esset, sed ne esse quidem[2] sciebant: aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici solent. Hoc signum noctu clam istius servi ex illo religiosissimo atque antiquissimo loco sustulerunt. Postridie sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani antistitae, majores natu, probatae ac nobiles mulieres, rem ad magistratus suos deferunt. Omnibus acerbum, indignum, luctuosum denique videbatur. Tum iste permotus illa atrocitate negotii, ut ab se sceleris illius suspicio demoveretur, dat hospiti suo cuidam negotium, ut aliquem reperiret, quem illud fecisse insimularet, daretque operam, ut is eo crimine damnaretur, ne ipse esset in crimine. Res non procrastinatur. Nam cum iste Catina profectus esset, servi cujusdam nomen defertur. Is accusatur: ficti testes in eum dantur. Rem cunctus senatus Catinensium legibus judicabat. Sacerdotes vocantur: ex iis quaeritur secreto in curia, quid esse factum arbitrarentur, quemadmodum signum esset ablatum. Respondent illae, praetoris in eo loco servos esse visos. Res, quae esset jam antea non obscura, sacerdotum testimonio perspicua esse coepit. Itur in consilium: servus ille innocens omnibus sententiis absolvitur, quo facilius vos hunc omnibus sententiis condemnare possitis. Quid enim postulas, Verres? quid speras? quid expectas? quem tibi aut deum aut hominem auxilio futurum putas? Eone tu servos ad spoliandum fanum immittere ausus es, quo liberos[3] adire ne orandi quidem causa fas erat? Hisne rebus manus afferre non dubitasti, a quibus etiam oculos cohibere te religionum jura cogebant? Tametsi ne oculis quidem captus in hanc fraudem tam sceleratam ac tam nefariam decidisti: nam id concupisti, quod nunquam videras; id, inquam, adamasti, quod antea non aspexeras.

[1] *Sacrarium intimum*, the *cella* or most sacred part of the temple.
[2] Supply *viri*. It was so ancient, and considered so sacred, that it was not even believed to be the work of man.
[3] Supply *viros*, men not having access to the sanctuary.

Auribus[1] tu tantam cupiditatem concepisti, ut eam non metus, non religio, non deorum vis, non hominum existimatio contineret. At ex bono viro,[2] credo, audieras et bono auctore. Qui[3] id potes, qui ne ex viro quidem audire potueris? Audisti igitur ex muliere; quoniam id viri nec vidisse neque nosse poterant. Qualem porro illam feminam fuisse putatis, judices? quam pudicam, quae cum Verre loqueretur! quam religiosam, quae sacrarii spoliandi rationem ostenderet? An minime mirum, quae sacra per summam castimoniam virorum ac mulierum fiant, eadem per istius stuprum ac flagitium esse violata?[4]

46. Quid ergo? hoc solum auditione[5] expetere coepit, cum id ipse non vidisset? Immo vero alia complura:[6] ex quibus eligam spoliationem nobilissimi atque antiquissimi fani, de qua priore actione[7] testes dicere audistis: nunc eadem illa, quaeso, audite et diligenter, sicut adhuc fecistis, attendite. Insula est Melita, judices, satis lato a Sicilia mari periculosoque dijuncta: in qua est eodem nomine oppidum, quo iste nunquam accessit: quod[8] tamen isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit. Ab eo oppido non longe in promontorio fanum est Junonis antiquum, quod tanta religione semper fuit, ut non modo illis Punicis bellis, quae in his fere locis[9] navali copia gesta atque versata sunt, sed etiam in hac praedonum multitudine[10] semper inviolatum sanctumque fuerit. Quin etiam hoc memoriae proditum est,

[1] 'From hearsay.'

[2] *Bono viro* must be taken ironically, as the *credo* shows; 'a good man, no doubt.'

[3] *Qui*, equivalent to *quomodo*, *qua ratione*.

[4] This suggests a new crime, the crime of seduction, preceding the sacrilege of robbing the temple.

[5] 'On the ground of a mere report' or 'hearsay,' *ubi auribus concepit*.

[6] Supply *auditione expetivit*.

[7] See the introduction to this speech.

[8] *Quod* refers to *oppidum*; an oratorical exaggeration, as if the whole town was a *textrinum* for Verres.

[9] These words may allude to the events of the first Punic war, such as the affairs of Ecnomus, Tyndaris, and Heraclea; but the whole passage is rhetorical, the maritime war being confined to the coasts of Sicily, whence Cicero adds the word *fere*. The singular *navalis copia* is less common than *navales copiae*.

[10] It was just about the time of the proceedings against Verres that the pirates in the Mediterranean were particularly audacious.

classe quondam Masinissae[1] regis ad eum locum appulsa, praefectum regium dentes eburneos incredibili magnitudine e fano sustulisse, et eos in Africam portasse Masinissaeque donasse. Regem primo delectatum esse munere: post, ubi audisset, unde essent, statim certos homines in quinqueremi misisse, qui eos dentes reponerent. Itaque in iis scriptum litteris Punicis fuit, *regem Masinissam imprudentem*[2] *accepisse, re cognita reportandos curasse.* Erat praeterea magna vis eboris, multa ornamenta, in quibus eburneae Victoriae, antiquo opere ac summa arte perfectae. Haec iste omnia, ne multis morer, uno impetu atque uno nuntio per servos Venerios,[3] quos ejus rei causa miserat, tollenda atque asportanda curavit.

47. Pro dii immortales! quem ego hominem accuso? quem legibus aut judiciali jure[4] persequor? de quo vos sententiam per tabellam[5] feretis? Dicunt legati Melitenses publice, spoliatum templum esse Junonis; nihil istum in religiosissimo fano reliquisse, quem in locum classes hostium saepe accesserint, ubi piratae fere quotannis hiemare soleant; quod neque praedo violaverit ante, neque unquam hostis attigerit, id ab uno isto sic spoliatum esse, ut nihil omnino sit relictum. Hic nunc iste reus, aut ego accusator aut hoc judicium appellabitur?[6] Criminibus[7] enim coarguitur aut suspicionibus in judicium vocatur! Dii ablati,

[1] Masinissa was king of Numidia; he was connected by friendship with Scipio Africanus major, and an enemy of the Carthaginians; he was particularly instrumental in bringing about the third Punic war, and died in B. C. 148.

[2] 'Without examination,' 'unwittingly.'

[3] The *servi Venerii* are the 'hieroduli' (*ἱερόδουλοι*) belonging to the temple of Venus on Mount Eryx.

[4] *Judiciale jus* in opposition to *belli jus;* as an enemy of his country, he deserved to be treated *belli jure.*

[5] The judges voted by means of tablets, and the majority of votes decided every case. The letter A denoted acquittal (*absolvo*), C condemnation (*condemno*), and N. L. (*non liquet*, the English 'not proven'), that a judge could not come to a decision.

[6] 'As the facts of the case are so evident, can we speak of an accused whose guilt is not yet proved? can we speak of an accuser who is to prove his charges? can we speak of a court which is to inquire?'

[7] *Criminibus* is here used ironically. *Criminationes* are unnecessary where *manifesta maleficia* are before the court; an accusation on the ground of suspicion is not required; in this case the judge has only to pronounce sentence.

fana vexata, nudatae urbes reperiuntur: earum autem rerum nullam sibi iste neque infitiandi rationem neque defendendi facultatem reliquit: omnibus in rebus coarguitur a me, convincitur a testibus, urgetur confessione sua, manifestis in maleficiis tenetur, et manet etiam,[1] ac tacitus facta mecum sua recognoscit.

Nimium mihi diu videor in uno genere versari criminum. Sentio, judices, occurrendum esse satietati aurium animorumque vestrorum. Quamobrem multa praetermittam. Ad ea autem, quae dicturus sum, reficite vos, quaeso, judices, per deos immortales! eos ipsos, de quorum religione jamdiu dicimus, dum id ejus facinus commemoro et profero, quo provincia tota commota est. De quo si paulo altius ordiri ac repetere memoriam religionis videbor, ignoscite: rei magnitudo me breviter perstringere atrocitatem criminis non sinit.

48. Vetus est haec opinio, judices, quae constat ex antiquissimis Graecorum litteris ac monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae[2] consecratam. Hoc cum ceterae gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis ita persuasum est, ut in animis eorum insitum atque innatum esse videatur. Nam et natas esse has in iis locis deas, et fruges in ea terra primum repertas esse arbitrantur, et raptam esse Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant, ex Hennensium nemore; qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus[3] Siciliae nominatur. Quam cum investigare et conquirere Ceres vellet, dicitur inflammasse taedas iis ignibus, qui ex Aetnae vertice erumpunt: quas sibi cum ipsa praeferret, orbem omnem peragrasse terrarum. Henna autem, ubi ea, quae dico, gesta esse memorantur, est loco perexcelso atque edito, quo in summo[4] est aequata agri planities et aquae perennes; tota vero ab

[1] 'And yet he is still sitting there (scorning to go into exile), and passes his deeds in review with me in my speech, and recognises them.'

[2] *Libera* is only another name for Proserpina, the daughter of Ceres. Tradition pointed to Sicily as the place where she was said to have been carried off by Pluto. Ceres and Libera were important divinities in Sicily, and the latter had a temple at Syracuse.

[3] *Umbilicus* is here applied, as the expression ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς was applied by the Greeks to Delphi, the central spot of the whole earth. Homer calls the island of Calypso ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης.

[4] 'On the top of which.'

omni aditu circumcisa, atque directa[1] est: quam circa lacus lucique sunt plurimi atque laetissimi flores omni tempore anni, locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis, quem jam a pueris accepimus, declarare videatur. Etenim prope est spelunca quaedam, conversa ad aquilonem, infinita altitudine, qua Ditem[2] patrem ferunt repente cum curru extitisse abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse, et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras lacumque in eo loco repente extitisse; ubi usque ad hoc tempus Syracusani festos dies anniversarios agunt celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu.

49. Propter hujus opinionis vetustatem, quod horum in iis locis vestigia ac prope incunabula reperiuntur deorum, mira quaedam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio est Cereris Hennensis. Etenim multa saepe prodigia vim ejus numenque declarant: multis saepe in difficillimis rebus praesens auxilium ejus oblatum est, ut haec insula ab ea non solum diligi, sed etiam incoli custodirique videatur. Nec solum Siculi, verum etiam ceterae gentes nationesque Hennensem Cererem maxime colunt. Etenim, si Atheniensium sacra[3] summa cupiditate expetuntur, ad quos Ceres in illo errore[4] venisse dicitur frugesque attulisse, quantam esse religionem convenit eorum, apud quos eam natam esse et fruges invenisse constat? Itaque apud patres nostros, atroci ac difficili rei publicae tempore, cum Ti. Graccho occiso[5] magnorum periculorum metus ex ostentis portenderetur, P. Mucio L. Calpurnio consulibus, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos:[6] ex quibus inventum est Cererem antiquissimam placari oportere. Tum ex amplissimo collegio decemvirali[7] sacerdotes populi Romani, cum esset in urbe nostra Cereris pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum templum, tamen usque Hennam profecti

[1] *Directus*, 'straight up,' 'precipitous,' as in Caes. *Bell. Gall.* i. 45.

[2] *Dis* is another name for Pluto.

[3] An allusion to the mysteries of Eleusis (north of Athens), which were celebrated with great solemnity, and the initiation into which was an object of ambition with the ancients.

[4] 'In her celebrated wanderings in search of her daughter.'

[5] Tib. Gracchus was murdered in B. C. 133, when P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi were consuls.

[6] Respecting the Sibylline books, see *in Catil.* iii. 4.

[7] Ten men (*decemviri*) were intrusted with the keeping of the Sibylline books; after the time of Sulla their number was fifteen. Their title was *decemviri sacris faciundis.*

sunt. Tanta erat enim auctoritas et vetustas illius religionis, ut, cum illuc irent, non ad aedem Cereris, sed ad ipsam Cererem proficisci viderentur. Non obtundam[1] diutius. Etenim jamdudum vereor, ne oratio mea, aliena ab judiciorum ratione et a cotidiana dicendi consuetudine esse videatur. Hoc dico, hanc ipsam Cererem, antiquissimam, religiosissimam, principem omnium sacrorum, quae apud omnes gentes nationesque fiunt, a C. Verre ex suis templis ac sedibus esse sublatam. Qui accessistis Hennam, vidistis simulacrum Cereris e marmore et in altero templo Liberae. Sunt ea perampla atque praeclara, sed non ita antiqua. Ex aere fuit quoddam modica amplitudine ac singulari opere, cum facibus,[2] perantiquum, omnium illorum, quae sunt in eo fano, multo antiquissimum. Id sustulit; ac tamen eo contentus non fuit. Ante aedem Cereris in aperto ac propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi,[3] pulcherrima ac perampla.[4] Pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Insistebat in manu Cereris dextra grande[5] simulacrum pulcherrime factum Victoriae. Hoc iste e signo Cereris avellendum asportandumque curavit.

50. Qui tandem istius animus est nunc in recordatione scelerum suorum, cum ego ipse in commemoratione eorum non solum animo commovear, verum etiam corpore perhorrescam? Venit enim mihi fani, loci, religionis illius in mentem:[6] versantur ante oculos omnia: dies ille, quo ego Hennam cum venissem,[7] praesto mihi sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis ac verbenis[8] fuerunt: contio conventusque civium: in quo ego cum loquerer, tanti gemitus fletusque fiebant, ut

[1] Supply *aures vestras.*

[2] *Cum facibus*, to represent her as searching after her daughter.

[3] Triptolemus of Eleusis was believed to have been instructed in agriculture by Ceres, and to have spread that knowledge in Greece, and especially in Attica.

[4] *Perampla* intimates that, like the Hercules mentioned in chap. 43, they were difficult to move.

[5] 'Unusually large,' which circumstance perhaps tempted Verres all the more. The goddess of victory was usually represented standing in the right hand of Jupiter or Minerva.

[6] Observe the construction *venit mihi in mentem alicujus rei*, as if the genitive were dependent on the word *recordatio* to be supplied.

[7] Namely, to take up evidence regarding the accusation of Verres on the spot.

[8] *This was* the attire they wore when offering sacrifices.

acerbissimus tota urbe luctus versari videretur. Non illi decumarum imperia, non bonorum direptiones, non iniqua judicia, non importunas istius libidines, non vim, non contumelias, quibus vexati oppressique erant, conquerebantur: Cereris numen, sacrorum vetustatem, fani religionem, istius sceleratissimi atque audacissimi supplicio expiari volebant:[1] omnia se cetera pati ac negligere dicebant. Hic dolor erat tantus, ut Verres alter Orcus[2] venisse Hennam, et non Proserpinam asportasse, sed ipsam abripuisse Cererem videretur. Etenim urbs illa non urbs videtur, sed fanum Cereris esse: habitare apud sese Cererem Hennenses arbitrantur: ut mihi non cives illius civitatis, sed omnes sacerdotes, omnes accolae atque antistites Cereris esse videantur. Henna tu simulacrum Cereris tollere audebas? Henna tu de manu Cereris Victoriam deripere et deam deae detrahere conatus es? quorum nihil violare, nihil attingere ausi sunt, in quibus erant omnia, quae sceleri propiora sunt, quam religioni. Tenuerunt enim, P. Popillio[3] P. Rupilio consulibus, illum locum servi, fugitivi, barbari, hostes. Sed neque tam servi illi dominorum, quam tu libidinum: neque tam fugitivi illi a dominis, quam tu ab jure et ab legibus: neque tam barbari lingua et natione illi, quam tu natura et moribus: neque tam illi hostes hominibus, quam tu diis immortalibus. Quae deprecatio est igitur ei reliqua, qui indignitate servos, temeritate fugitivos, scelere barbaros, crudelitate hostes vicerit?

51. Audistis Theodorum et Numenium et Nicasionem, legatos Hennenses, publice dicere sese a suis civibus haec habere mandata, ut Verrem adirent et eum[4] simulacrum Cereris et Victoriae reposcerent: id si impetrassent, tum ut morem veterem Hennensium conservarent, publice in eum, tametsi vexasset Siciliam, tamen, quoniam haec a majoribus instituta accepissent, testimonium ne quod dicerent: sin autem ea non reddidisset, tum ut in judicio adessent, tum ut de ejus injuriis judices docerent, sed maxime de religione

[1] Namely, when I was with them.

[2] *Alter Orcus*, the same as *alter Pluto*.

[3] P. Popillius was consul in B. C. 132, the time of the so-called first servile war. The second broke out in Sicily in B. C. 99, and was brought to a close by M'. Aquillius, after about one million of slaves had been killed. Tauromenium (Taormina) and Henna were the principal strongholds of the revolted slaves and those who had joined them.

[4] Respecting the two accusatives with reposco, see Gram. § 253, 2.

quererentur. Quas illorum querimonias nolite, per deos immortales! aspernari; nolite contemnere ac negligere, judices. Aguntur injuriae sociorum: agitur vis legum: agitur existimatio veritasque[1] judiciorum. Quae sunt omnia permagna, verum illud maximum: tanta religione obstricta tota provincia est, tanta superstitio ex istius facto mentes omnium Siculorum occupavit, ut quaecunque accidant publice privatimque incommoda, propter eam causam sceleris[2] istius evenire videantur. Audistis Centuripinos, Agyrinenses, Catinenses, Aetnenses, Herbitenses[3] compluresque alios publice dicere, quae solitudo in agris esset, quae vastitas, quae fuga aratorum, quam deserta, quam inculta, quam relicta omnia. Ea tametsi multis istius et variis injuriis acciderunt, tamen haec una causa in opinione Siculorum plurimum valet, quod, Cerere violata, omnes cultus fructusque Cereris in iis locis interisse arbitrantur. Medemini religioni sociorum, judices: conservate vestram.[4] Neque enim haec externa vobis est religio neque aliena. Quodsi esset, si suscipere eam nolletis: tamen in eo, qui violasset, sancire[5] vos velle oporteret. Nunc vero in communi omnium gentium religione, inque iis sacris, quae majores nostri ab exteris nationibus ascita atque arcessita coluerunt, quae sacra, ut erant re vera, sic appellari Graeca voluerunt, negligentes ac dissoluti; si[6] cupiamus esse, qui possumus?

52. Unius etiam urbis, omnium pulcherrimae atque ornatissimae, Syracusarum direptionem commemorabo et in medium proferam, judices, ut aliquando totam hujus generis orationem concludam atque definiam. Nemo fere vestrum est, quin, quemadmodum captae sint a M. Marcello Syracusae,[7] saepe audierit, nonnunquam etiam in annalibus[8] le-

[1] *Veritas* is 'conscientiousness which does not flinch from the truth.'

[2] The same as the more simple *propter scelus.*

[3] Herbita, a town south-east of Henna.

[4] Since you too worship Ceres.

[5] That is, *religionem Cereris comprobare;* namely, by punishing him who pillages her temple.

[6] *Si* equivalent to *etiamsi;* and the *qui* following the same as *quomodo.*

[7] Syracuse was taken in the second Punic war, B.C. 212.

[8] The public annals (*annales maximi*), which were kept by the pontifex maximus.

gerit. Conferte hanc pacem[1] cum illo bello, hujus praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, hujus cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, hujus libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo, qui cepit, conditas, ab hoc, qui constitutas accepit, captas dicetis Syracusas. Ac jam illa omitto, quae disperse a me multis in locis dicentur ac dicta sunt, forum Syracusanorum, quod introitu Marcelli purum caede servatum est, id adventu Verris Siculorum innocentium sanguine redundasse; portum Syracusanorum, qui tum et nostris classibus et Carthaginiensium clausus fuisset, eum, isto praetore, Cilicum myoparoni praedonibusque patuisse: mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis,[2] matresfamilias violatas, quae tum[3] in urbe capta commissa non sunt, neque odio hostili, neque licentia militari, neque more belli, neque jure victoriae: mitto, inquam, haec omnia, quae ab isto per triennium perfecta sunt: ea, quae conjuncta cum illis rebus sunt, de quibus antea dixi, cognoscite. Urbem Syracusas maximam esse Graecarum, pulcherrimam omnium, saepe audistis. Est, judices, ita, ut dicitur. Nam et situ est cum munito, tum ex omni aditu, vel terra, vel mari, praeclaro ad aspectum: et portus habet prope in aedificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos: qui cum diversos inter se aditus habeant, in exitu[4] conjunguntur et confluunt. Eorum conjunctione pars oppidi, quae appellatur Insula, mari dijuncta angusto, ponte rursus adjungitur et continetur.

53. Ea tanta est urbs, ut ex quattuor urbibus maximis constare dicatur: quarum una est ea, quam dixi, insula: quae duobus portubus cincta, in utriusque portus ostium aditumque projecta est: in qua domus est, quae regis Hieronis[5] fuit, qua praetores uti solent.[6] In ea[7] sunt aedes sacrae complures, sed duae, quae longe ceteris antecellant, Dianae, et altera, quae fuit ante istius adventum ornatissima, Minervae.

[1] 'The present peace with those times of war.'

[2] To use violence against an *ingenuus* (a free-born person) was a more serious offence than against *libertini* or *servi*.

[3] Namely, in the time of Marcellus.

[4] That is, towards the town: the ports were divided by that part of the town called Insula, and they united between the part of the town on the mainland and this Insula.

[5] King Hiero, who died in B. C. 215, was a most faithful ally of Rome.

[6] Namely, as their residence or official habitation.

[7] Supply *Insula*, which also bore the name Ortygia.

In hac insula extrema est fons aquae dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa[1] est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium; qui fluctu[2] totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum dijunctus esset a mari. Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Achradina[3] est: in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimae porticus, ornatissimum prytanium,[4] amplissima est curia,[5] templumque egregium Jovis Olympii ceteraeque urbis partes, quae una via lata perpetua[6] multisque transversis[7] divisae privatis aedificiis continentur. Tertia est urbs, quae, quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est, in qua gymnasium amplissimum est, et complures aedes sacrae: coliturque ea pars et habitatur frequentissime. Quarta autem est, quae, quia postrema coaedificata est, Neapolis nominatur: quam ad summam[8] theatrum maximum, praeterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberae, signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites[9] vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum, quod iste si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre.

54. Nunc ad Marcellum revertar, ne haec a me sine causa commemorata esse videantur. Qui cum tam praeclaram urbem vi[10] copiisque cepisset, non putavit ad laudem populi Romani hoc pertinere, hanc pulchritudinem, ex qua praesertim periculi[11] nihil ostenderetur, delere et extinguere. Itaque aedificiis omnibus, publicis, privatis, sacris, profanis, sic pepercit, quasi ad ea defendenda cum exercitu, non

[1] Arethusa, according to the legend, was a nymph, beloved by the river-god Alpheus in Elis, who was believed to flow from Elis to Sicily under the earth, and there to unite with the nymph.

[2] Supply *maris*.

[3] Achradina was the principal part of Syracuse, as is clear from the description itself.

[4] The Greek πρυτανεῖον. In the prytaneum of Athens, not only the prytanes, or presidents of the council, but other persons who had well deserved of their country, were maintained at the public expense.

[5] *Curia* seems to be only a Latin translation of πρυτανεῖον.

[6] *Perpetua* belongs, as an adjective, to *via lata*.

[7] 'And many streets running across it.'

[8] That is, *cujus in extrema parte*.

[9] Called *Temenites* from the place (τέμενος, a grove) where the statue stood. Τέμενος very often signifies a grove round a temple.

[10] After a long siege, during which Archimedes, by his mechanical skill, did good service to Syracuse. In spite of an express order of Marcellus to spare Archimedes, he was killed in his house by a common soldier.

[11] The town being too weak to be able to injure Rome.

oppugnanda venisset. In ornatu urbis habuit victoriae rationem, habuit humanitatis. Victoriae putabat esse multa Romam deportare, quae ornamento urbi esse possent, humanitatis, non plane expoliare urbem, praesertim quam[1] conservare voluisset. In hac partitione ornatus non plus victoria Marcelli populo Romano[2] appetivit, quam humanitas Syracusanis reservavit. Romam quae apportata sunt, ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis[3] itemque aliis in locis videmus. Nihil in aedibus, nihil in hortis posuit, nihil in suburbano: putavit, si urbis ornamenta domum suam non contulisset, domum suam ornamento urbi futuram. Syracusis autem permulta atque egregia reliquit: deum vero nullum violavit, nullum attigit. Conferte Verrem: non ut hominem cum homine comparetis, ne qua tali viro[4] mortuo fiat injuria; sed ut pacem cum bello, leges[5] cum vi,[6] forum et jurisdictionem cum ferro et armis, adventum et comitatum cum exercitu et victoria conferatis.

55. Aedis[7] Minervae est in Insula, de qua ante dixi: quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit, quae ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est, non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionum et consuetudinis jura contineret,[8] sed ut a barbaris praedonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathocli[9] regis in tabulis picta: his autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur.[10] Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis, quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcellus, cum omnia

[1] *Quam*, equivalent to *quum eam*, whence the subjunctive. See *Gram.* § 359, 6.

[2] 'Gave the Roman people advantage and pleasure.'

[3] According to an inscription, C. Marius built such a temple from the booty he had made in the war against the Cimbri and Teutones. The temple here meant was, according to another passage of Cicero, renewed by Marcellus; while, according to Livy, it was vowed and built by him. See chap. 55.

[4] *Tali viro* refers to Marcellus.

[5] Which, as praetor, he had to maintain and support.

[6] *Vis* here alludes to the conquest of Marcellus, effected by force.

[7] *Aedis* is an ancient form for *aedes*. *De qua* refers to *Insula*.

[8] *Contineret* in the sense of *conservaret*, 'observed.'

[9] Respecting the genitive *Agathocli*, see chap. 2. Agathocles was tyrant of nearly the whole of Sicily, from B.C. 317 till 289. He was at first particularly fortunate in his wars against Carthage, and afterwards also against the towns of Southern Italy; but he was notorious for his cruelty.

[10] That is, *tegebantur*.

victoria illa[1] sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit: iste, cum illa jam propter diuturnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnes eas tabulas abstulit: parietes, quorum ornatus tot saecula manserat, tot bella effugerat, nudos ac deformatos reliquit. Et Marcellus, qui, si Syracusas cepisset,[2] duo templa se Romae dedicaturum voverat, is id, quod erat aedificaturus, iis rebus ornare, quas ceperat, noluit: Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtuti, quemadmodum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet, is Minervae templum spoliare conatus est. Ille deos deorum spoliis ornare noluit: hic ornamenta Minervae virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit. Septem et viginti praeterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eadem aede sustulit: in quibus erant imagines Siciliae regum ac tyrannorum, quae non solum pictorum artificio delectabant, sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cognitione formarum. Ac videte, quanto taetrior hic tyrannus[3] Syracusanus fuerit, quam quisquam superiorum: cum illi tamen ornarint templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum[4] monumenta atque ornamenta sustulit.

56. Jam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi commemorem? Vereor, ne, haec qui non viderint, omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur: quod tamen nemo suspicari debet, tam esse me cupidum, ut tot viros primarios velim, praesertim ex judicum numero, qui Syracusis fuerint, qui haec viderint, esse temeritati et mendacio meo conscios. Confirmare hoc liquido, judices, possum, valvas magnificentiores, ex auro atque ebore perfectiores, nullas unquam ullo templo fuisse. Incredibile dictu est, quam multi Graeci de harum valvarum pulchritudine scriptum reliquerint. Ni-

[1] 'Although by his conquest he had profaned (secularised) everything.' It was a custom with the Romans, when besieging a town, to invite the tutelary divinities of the place to come out, because otherwise they believed it impossible to take the place; or else they imagined that they were committing a sin by making the gods, like the inhabitants, their prisoners. At Syracuse, therefore, all things were *profana* when it was captured by Marcellus.

[2] According to Livy, xxvii. 25, Marcellus made this vow in the Gallic war, at Clastidium, in B. C. 222.

[3] *Tyrannus* is here transferred to the long and cruel praetorship of Verres.

[4] Not even the statues of the tyrants were left untouched by him: he put them on an equality with the statues of the gods.

mium forsitan haec illi mirentur atque efferant: esto;[1] verumtamen honestius est rei publicae nostrae, judices, ea, quae illis pulchra esse videantur, imperatorem[2] nostrum in bello reliquisse, quam praetorem in pace abstulisse. Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta[3] erant in valvis: ea detrahenda curavit omnia. Gorgonis[4] os pulcherrimum,[5] cinctum anguibus,[6] revellit atque abstulit: et tamen indicavit, se non solum artificio, sed etiam pretio quaestuque duci. Nam bullas aureas omnes ex iis valvis, quae erant multae et graves, non dubitavit auferre; quarum iste non opere delectabatur, sed pondere. Itaque ejusmodi[7] valvas reliquit, ut, quae olim ad ornandum templum erant maxime, nunc tantum ad claudendum factae esse videantur. Etiamne gramineas hastas[8]—Vidi enim vos in hoc nomine,[9] cum testis diceret, commoveri, quod erant ejusmodi, ut semel vidisse satis esset: in quibus neque manu factum quicquam, neque pulchritudo erat ulla, sed tantum magnitudo incredibilis, de qua vel audire satis esset, nimium[10] videre plus quam semel—etiam id concupisti?

57. Nam Sappho,[11] quae sublata de prytanio[12] est, dat tibi

[1] 'Let it be so.'

[2] *Imperator* refers to Marcellus, as the following *praetor* does to Verres.

[3] *Argumenta* here are the scenes or subjects represented.

[4] That is, Medusa; the most celebrated among the three daughters of Phorcys, whose heads were surrounded by snakes, and changed the beholder into stone. Perseus, after having exercised his strength on various wicked men, cut off the head of Medusa, and gave it to Minerva, who inserted it in her aegis.

[5] That is, *pulcherrime factum;* for its aspect, even in works of art, was terrific.

[6] The serpents enclosed the whole countenance; the wrinkles on the forehead and the eyebrows consisting of serpents.

[7] 'In such a condition,' or 'plight.'

[8] 'Spears consisting of the bamboo reed;' they had been brought from the East by merchants, and were preserved in the temple on account of their extraordinary length.

[9] 'In mentioning these *gramineae hastae.*'

[10] To *nimium* supply *esset. Id* signifies *ejusmodi rem*, 'a thing so worthless.'

[11] The statue of the celebrated Lesbian poetess, the contemporary and friend of the poet Alcaeus; she lived in the sixth century before Christ. Some beautiful poems of both are still extant; and to them we are indebted for two of the most exquisite metres, the Sapphic and Alcaic strophes, which are frequently employed in the poems of Horace.

[12] Namely, of Syracuse. *Dat excusationem*, because it was so exquisitely beautiful.

justam excusationem, prope ut concedendum atque ignoscendum esse videatur. Silanionis[1] opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum, quisquam non modo privatus, sed populus potius haberet, quam homo elegantissimus atque eruditissimus Verres? Nimirum contra dici nihil potest. Nostrum enim unusquisque, qui tam beati, quam iste est, non sumus, tam delicati esse non possumus, si quando aliquid istiusmodi videre volet, eat ad aedem Felicitatis,[2] ad monumentum Catuli,[3] in porticum Metelli;[4] det operam, ut admittatur in alicujus istorum Tusculanum;[5] spectet forum ornatum, si quid iste suorum aedilibus[6] commodarit: Verres haec habeat domi; Verres ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum habeat plenam[7] domum, villas refertas. Etiamne hujus operarii studia ac delicias, judices, perferetis? qui ita natus, ita educatus est, ita factus et animo et corpore, ut multo appositior ad ferenda,[8] quam ad auferenda signa esse videatur. Atque haec Sappho sublata quantum desiderium sui reliquerit, dici vix potest. Nam cum ipsa fuit egregie facta, tum epigramma[9] Graecum pernobile incisum est in basi, quod iste eruditus homo et Graeculus,[10] qui haec subtiliter judicat, qui solus intelligit, si unam litteram Graecam scisset,

[1] Silanion was an Athenian, and a contemporary of Alexander the Great and Lysippus.

[2] The temple of Felicitas had been built by C. Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth, and was adorned with splendid bronze statues by Praxiteles. See chap. 2.

[3] Probably not the often-mentioned temple of Jupiter, but one of Fortuna, which was vowed in the Cimbrian war, B. C. 101, when Q. Catulus was proconsul.

[4] The *porticus* of Metellus was in the ninth region of the city, near the Campus Martius; it had been adorned by Metellus Macedonicus with an equestrian statue made by Lysippus at the command of Alexander the Great.

[5] A country seat, or summer villa, near Tusculum (Frascati), which was a favourite district with the Romans. *Istorum*, 'of such lovers of art,' is said somewhat contemptuously.

[6] For the purpose of exhibiting them at the public games. The *suorum* here means, 'of his riches.'

[7] For the construction of *plenus*, see *Gram.* § 302.

[8] *Ferenda* contains a sarcastic allusion to the figure and nature of Verres, whose love of art (*auferenda*) formed a strange contrast with his ordinary roughness and brutality; for he is called a mere *operarius*.

[9] This alludes to a well-known epigram, in which Sappho is addressed as the tenth of the Muses. See Brunck, *Analect.*, vol. i. p. 171.

[10] Contemptuously, 'a person pretending that he understands Greek.'

certe una sustulisset. Nunc enim, quod scriptum est inani in basi, declarat quid fuerit, et id ablatum indicat.

Quid? signum Paeanis[1] ex aede Aesculapii praeclare factum, sacrum ac religiosum, non sustulisti? quod omnes propter pulchritudinem visere, propter religionem colere solebant. Quid? ex aede Liberi simulacrum Aristaei[2] non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Quid? ex aede Jovis religiosissimum simulacrum Jovis Imperatoris, quem Graeci Urion[3] nominant, pulcherrime factum, nonne abstulisti? Quid? ex aede Liberae parvum caput illud pulcherrimum, quod visere solebamus, num dubitasti tollere? Atque ille Paean sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur: Aristaeus, qui, [ut Graeci ferunt, Liberi filius], inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud illos eodem erat in templo consecratus:

58. Jovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? Conjicere potestis, si recordari volueritis, quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud, quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat Flamininus.[4] Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Jovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta: unum illud Macedonicum, quod in Capitolio vidimus: alterum in Ponti ore[5] et angustiis: tertium, quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit. Illud Flamininus ita ex aede sua sustulit, ut in Capitolio, hoc est, in terrestri domicilio Jovis, poneret. Quod autem est ad introitum Ponti, id, cum tam multa[6] ex illo mari bella emerserint, tam multa porro in Pontum invecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum inviolatumque servatum est. Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolae Syracusani colere, advenae non solum visere, verum etiam venerari solebant,

[1] *Paean* is a surname of Apollo.

[2] Aristaeus was believed to have introduced the cultivation of the olive-tree, and the keeping of bees, and to have taught men the various uses of milk. He is called a son of Apollo or of Dionysus.

[3] *Urion*, the Greek οὔριον, from οὖρος, the giver of a good or favourable voyage; *imperator* describes him as the conductor or leader during a voyage or on the march.

[4] This is T. Quinctius Flamininus, who, in B.C. 197, defeated Philip, king of Macedonia, at Cynoscephalae.

[5] Namely, at Chalcedon, opposite to Byzantium.

[6] Especially the war against Mithridates, which was just then going on.

id Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit. Ut saepius ad Marcellum revertar, judices, sic habetote: plures esse a Syracusanis istius adventu deos, quam victoria Marcelli homines desideratos. Etenim ille requisisse etiam dicitur Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem ac disciplina, quem cum audisset interfectum, permoleste tulisse: iste omnia, quae requisivit, non ut conservaret, verum ut asportaret, requisivit.

59. Jam illa, quae leviora videbuntur, ideo praeteribo: quod mensas Delphicas[1] e marmore, crateras ex aere pulcherrimas, vim maximam vasorum Corinthiorum ex omnibus aedibus sacris abstulit Syracusis. Itaque, judices, ii, qui hospites ad ea, quae visenda sunt, solent ducere et unamquidque ostendere, quos illi mystagogos[2] vocant, conversam jam habent demonstrationem suam. Nam, ut ante demonstrabant, quid ubique esset, item nunc, quid undique ablatum sit, ostendunt.

Quid tum? mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? Non ita est, judices: primum, quod omnes religione moventur et deos patrios, quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur: deinde hic ornatus, haec opera atque artificia, signa, tabulae pictae, Graecos homines nimio opere[3] delectant. Itaque ex illorum querimoniis intelligere possumus, haec illis acerbissima videri, quae forsitan nobis levia et contemnenda esse videantur. Mihi credite, judices, (tametsi vosmet ipsos haec eadem audire certo scio,) cum multas acceperint per hosce annos socii atque exterae nationes calamitates et injurias,[4] nullas Graeci homines gravius ferunt ac tulerunt, quam hujuscemodi spoliationes fanorum atque oppidorum. Licet iste dicat emisse se, sicuti solet dicere: credite hoc mihi, judices: nulla unquam civitas tota Asia et Graecia signum ullum, tabulam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis, sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit. Nisi

[1] That is, similar to those from which the Pythia gave her oracles. The Romans used them as ornamental tables.

[2] The *mystagogi* derived their name from the fact, that they conducted persons into temples and other places inaccessible to the vulgar.

[3] *Nimio opere* is a stronger expression than *magnopere*.

[4] As, for example, by the Mithridatic war, which was carried on in the East for a great number of years, and by the civil war between Marius and Sulla.

forte existimatis,[1] posteaquam judicia severa Romae fieri desierunt,[2] Graecos homines haec venditare coepisse, quae tum non modo non venditabant, cum judicia fiebant, verum etiam coëmebant: aut nisi arbitramini, L. Crasso,[3] Q. Scaevolae, C. Claudio,[4] potentissimis hominibus, quorum aedilitates ornatissimas vidimus, commercium istarum rerum cum Graecis hominibus non fuisse;[5] iis, qui post judiciorum dissolutionem aediles facti sunt, fuisse.

60. Acerbiorem etiam scitote esse civitatibus falsam[6] istam et simulatam emptionem, quam si quis clam surripiat aut eripiat palam atque auferat. Nam turpitudinem summam esse arbitrantur referri in tabulas publicas,[7] pretio adductam civitatem, et pretio parvo, ea, quae accepisset a majoribus, vendidisse atque abalienasse. Etenim mirandum in modum Graeci rebus istis, quas nos contemnimus, delectantur. Itaque majores nostri facile patiebantur haec esse apud illos quam plurima; apud socios,[8] ut imperio nostro[9] quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent: apud eos autem, quos vectigales aut stipendiarios[10] fecerant, tamen haec relinquebant, ut illi, quibus haec jucunda sunt, quae nobis

[1] *Nisi forte existimatis*, equivalent to *nolite existimare;* just as afterwards *nisi arbitramini* to *nolite arbitrari.*

[2] *Posteaquam—desierunt;* that is, when the senators began to be the *judices* in the courts of justice, according to a law enacted by Sulla in B.C. 81. But these courts (*judicia*) did not exist for the purpose of preventing the Greeks from selling or purchasing works of art—of cautioning the Romans against forced purchases.

[3] L. Licinius Crassus was consul in B.C. 95, together with Q. Mucius Scaevola, and both had distinguished themselves in their aedileships by their love of splendour and artistic taste.

[4] C. Claudius was praetor in B.C. 95, and was likewise celebrated for the splendour of his aedileship. He was the uncle of the notorious P. Clodius, and consul in B.C. 92.

[5] They had, in fact, much to do with Greeks, and brought together many ornaments of the Forum. See chap. 3.

[6] Like the purchase from the Mamertine Heius, described at the beginning of this speech.

[7] That every one might inspect them. See above, chap. 6.

[8] Such as the Athenians, Rhodians, and other states which enjoyed immunities.

[9] That is, *nobis imperantibus.*

[10] Most of the Sicilians were tributary, and had to perform other duties besides. The tribute paid by the *stipendiarii* was imposed upon them arbitrarily, and according to the exigencies of the times; but the *vectigales* paid a regular fixed tribute. The *servitus* mentioned afterwards, therefore, refers especially to the *stipendiarii.*

levia videntur, haberent haec oblectamenta et solatia servitutis. Quid arbitramini Rheginos, qui jam cives Romani sunt, mereri[1] velle, ut ab iis marmorea Venus illa auferatur? quid Tarentinos, ut Europam in tauro[2] amittant? ut Satyrum,[3] qui apud illos in aede Vestae est? ut cetera? quid Thespienses,[4] ut Cupidinis signum, propter quod unum visuntur Thespiae? quid Cnidios,[5] ut Venerem marmoream? quid, ut pictam,[6] Coos? quid Ephesios, ut Alexandrum?[7] quid Cyzicenos, ut Ajacem, aut Medeam? quid Rhodios, ut Ialysum?[8] quid Athenienses, ut ex marmore Iacchum aut Paralum pictum aut ex aere Myronis buculam? Longum est et non necessarium commemorare, quae apud quosque visenda sunt tota Asia et Graecia: verum illud est, quamobrem haec commemorem, quod existimare vos hoc volo, mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos, ex quorum urbibus haec auferantur.

61. Atque, ut ceteros omittamus, de ipsis Syracusanis cognoscite. Ad quos ego cum venissem, sic primum existimabam, ut Romae ex istius amicis acceperam, civitatem Syracusanam propter Heraclii[9] hereditatem non minus esse isti amicam, quam Mamertinam propter praedarum ac furtorum omnium societatem: simul et verebar, ne mulierum nobilium et formosarum gratia, quarum iste arbitrio per triennium praeturam gesserat, virorumque, quibuscum illae nuptae erant, nimia in istum non modo lenitudine, sed

[1] *Merere*, equivalent to *pretii ac mercedis loco accipere.*

[2] 'Europa seated on a bull;' a representation of the well-known story of the rape of Europa by Jupiter, who had changed himself into a bull.

[3] Satyrus was a native hero of Tarentum.

[4] See chap. 2.

[5] Cnidus, a town in Caria, possessing the celebrated statue of Venus by Praxiteles, to see which persons visited Cnidus from the most distant parts.

[6] Namely, by Apelles; this picture was called Ἀναδυομένη; the island of Cos was not far from Cnidus.

[7] In the temple of the Ephesian Diana, where he had the surname κεραυνοφόρος.

[8] *Ialysus*, a hero of the island of Rhodes, was painted by Protogenes, who also painted the hero Paralus at Athens.

[9] This inheritance, amounting to three millions of sesterces, was assigned by Verres, in his capacity as praetor, not to the legitimate heir, but to Syracusan boxers, and in such a manner that he himself got a considerable sum of money from it. See *Act. in Ver.*, ii. 14.

etiam liberalitate oppugnarer, si quid ex litteris Syracusanorum conquirerem. Itaque Syracusis cum civibus Romanis eram: eorum tabulas exquirebam, injurias cognoscebam: cum diutius in negotio curaque fueram, ut requiescerem curamque animi remitterem, ad Carpinatii[1] praeclaras tabulas revertebar; ubi cum equitibus Romanis, hominibus ex illo conventu honestissimis, illius Verrucios,[2] de quibus ante dixi, explicabam: a Syracusanis prorsus nihil adjumenti neque publice neque privatim expectabam: neque erat in animo postulare. Cum haec agerem, repente ad me venit Heraclius, is qui tum magistratum Syracusis habebat, homo nobilis, qui sacerdos Jovis fuisset, qui honos est apud Syracusanos amplissimus. Agit mecum et cum fratre[3] meo, ut, si nobis videretur, adiremus ad eorum senatum: frequentes[4] esse in curia: se jussu senatus a nobis petere, ut veniremus. Primo nobis fuit dubium, quid ageremus: deinde cito venit in mentem, non esse vitandum illum nobis conventum et locum.

62. Itaque in curiam venimus. Honorifice sane consurgitur: nos rogatu magistratus assedimus. Incipit is loqui, qui et auctoritate et aetate et, ut mihi visum est, usu rerum antecedebat, Diodorus Timarchidi;[5] cujus omnis oratio hanc habuit primo sententiam: senatum et populum Syracusanum moleste graviterque ferre, quod ego, cum in ceteris Siciliae civitatibus senatum populumque docuissem, quid iis utilitatis, quid salutis afferrem, et cum ab omnibus mandata, legatos, litteras testimoniaque sumpsissem, in illa civitate nihil ejusmodi facerem. Respondi, neque Romae in conventu Siculorum, cum a me auxilium communi omnium legationum consilio petebatur, causaque totius provinciae ad me deferebatur, legatos Syracusanorum affuisse: neque me postulare, ut quicquam contra C. Verrem decerneretur in ea curia, in qua inauratam C. Verris statuam viderem. Quod posteaquam dixi, tantus est gemitus factus aspectu statuae et commemoratione, ut illud in curia positum monu-

[1] *Carpinatius* was an assistant and accomplice of Verres. *Praeclaras*, ironical, for they were forged.

[2] *Verrucius*, a fictitious name which Carpinatius substituted for that of Verres.

[3] *Frater* is here used in the sense of *patruelis*, 'my cousin Lucius.'

[4] Supply *senatores*.

[5] The genit. *Timarchidi* is governed by *filius* understood. Compare chap. 2.

mentum scelerum,[1] non beneficiorum videretur. Tum se quisque, quantum dicendo assequi poterat, docere coepit ea, quae paulo ante commemoravi: spoliatam ur fana direpta: de Heraclii hereditate, quam palaestritis cessisset, multo maximam partem ipsum abstulisse: r postulandum fuisse, ut ille palaestritas diligeret, qui (inventorem olei[2] deum sustulisset: neque illam sta esse ex pecunia publica neque publice datam, sed eos hereditatis[3] diripiendae participes fuissent, faciendam tuendamque curasse: eosdem Romae fuisse legatos, adjutores improbitatis, socios furtorum, conscios flagitio eo minus mirari me oportere, si illi communi legat voluntati et saluti Siciliae defuissent.

63. Ubi eorum dolorem ex istius injuriis non modo minorem, sed prope majorem, quam Siculorum ceter esse cognovi, tum meum animum in illos, tum mei co negotiique totius suscepti causam rationemque proposui, eos hortatus sum, ut causae communi salutique ne dees ut illam laudationem,[4] quam se vi ac metu coactos p illis diebus decresse dicebant, tollerent. Itaque, judices, s cusani haec faciunt, istius clientes atque amici. Pri mihi litteras publicas,[5] quas in aerario sanctiore con habebant, proferunt: in quibus ostendunt omnia, quae ablata esse, perscripta, et plura etiam, quam ego potui di perscripta autem hoc modo, *quod ex aede Minervae hoc et abesset, quod ex aede Jovis, quod ex aede Liberi:* ut quisqu rebus tuendis conservandisque praefuerat, ita perscrip erat, cum rationem e lege[6] redderent et quae accepe tradere deberent, petisse,[7] ut sibi, quod eae res abes ignosceretur: itaque omnes liberatos discessisse et esse i tum omnibus: quas ego litteras obsignandas publico s deportandasque curavi.

De laudatione autem ratio sic mihi reddita est. Pri cum a C. Verre litterae aliquanto ante adventum meu laudatione venissent, nihil esse decretum: deinde, cum

[1] That no one might ever forget the crimes of Verres.
[2] That is, Aristaeus. See above, chap. 57. Wrestlers used muc
[3] Namely, *Heraclii.*
[4] To *laudationem* supply *Verris. Decresse*, syncopated for *decrev*
[5] That is, *tabulas publicas*, 'an official register.'
[6] 'According to contract.'
[7] To *petisse* supply *a senatu Syracusano.*

dam ex illius amicis commonerent oportere decerni, maximo clamore esse et convicio repudiatos: posteaquam meus adventus appropinquaret, imperasse eum, qui summam potestatem haberet,[1] ut decernerent: decretum ita esse, ut multo plus illi laudatio mali quam boni posset afferre. Id adeo, judices, ut mihi ab illis demonstratum est, sic vos ex me cognoscite.

64. Mos est Syracusis, ut, si qua de re ad senatum referatur, dicat sententiam, qui velit: nominatim nemo rogatur; et tamen, ut quisque aetate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet sua sponte dicere, itaque a ceteris ei conceditur: sin aliquando tacent omnes, tum sortito coguntur dicere. Cum hic mos esset, refertur ad senatum de laudatione Verris. In quo primum, ut aliquid esset morae,[2] multi interpellant: de Sex. Peducaeo,[3] qui de illa civitate totaque provincia optime meritus esset, sese antea, cum audissent, ei negotium facessitum,[4] cumque eum publice pro plurimis ejus et maximis meritis laudare cuperent, a C. Verre prohibitos esse: iniquum esse, tametsi Peducaeus eorum laudatione jam non uteretur, tamen non id prius decernere, quod aliquando voluissent, quam quod tum cogerentur. Conclamant omnes et approbant, ita fieri oportere. Refertur de Peducaeo.[5] Ut quisque aetate et honore antecedebat, ita sententiam dixit ex ordine. Id adeo ex ipso senatus consulto cognoscite: nam principum sententiae perscribi solent. Recita. *Quod verba facta sunt de Sex. Peducaeo.* Dicit,[6] qui primi suaserint. Decernitur. Refertur deinde de Verre. Dic, quaeso, quomodo. *Quod verba facta sunt de C. Verre.* Quid postea scriptum est? *Cum surgeret nemo neque sententiam diceret*—Quid est hoc? *sors ducitur.* Quamobrem? nemo erat voluntarius laudator praeturae tuae, defensor periculorum,[7] praesertim cum inire a praetore gratiam posset? Nemo. Illi ipsi tui convivae, con-

[1] That is, the praetor L. Metellus. The *illi* refers to Verres.

[2] 'In order that a resolution might not be come to at once.'

[3] Sex. Peducaeus had been propraetor in Sicily in the years B. C. 76 and 75, and in the former of these years Cicero was his quaestor.

[4] That is, *reum esse factum.*

[5] Supply *laudando.*

[6] The subject of *dicit* is *senatus consultum.* To *decernitur*, supply *laudatio* as its subject.

[7] *Periculorum*, equivalent to *scelerum*, the dangers being the consequences of his criminal administration.

siliarii, conscii, socii verbum facere non audent. In qua curia statua tua stabat et nuda filii, in ea nemo fuit, ne quem nudus quidem filius[1] nudata provincia commoveret. Atque etiam hoc me docent, ejusmodi fecisse[2] senatus consultum laudationis, ut omnes intelligere possent non laudationem, sed potius irrisionem esse illam, quae commonefaceret istius turpem calamitosamque praeturam. Etenim scriptum esse ita, *quod is virgis neminem cecidisset:* a quo cognostis nobilissimos homines atque innocentissimos securi esse percussos: *quod vigilanter provinciam administrasset:* cujus omnes vigilias in stupris constat esse consumptas; cujusmodi, constat. Hoc vero scriptum esse, quod proferre non auderet reus, accusator recitare non desineret, *quod praedones procul ab insula Sicilia prohibuisset Verres:* quos etiam intra Syracusanam insulam recepisset.

Haec posteaquam ex illis cognovi, discessi cum fratre e curia, ut, nobis absentibus, si quid vellent, decernerent.

65. Decernunt statim primum, *ut cum fratre L. hospitium publice fieret*, quod is eandem voluntatem erga Syracusanos suscepisset, quam ego semper habuissem. Id non modo tum scripserunt, verum etiam in aere incisum nobis tradiderunt. Valde, hercule, te Syracusani tui, quos crebro commemorare soles, diligunt: qui cum accusatore tuo satis justam causam conjungendae necessitudinis putant, quod te accusaturus sit et quod inquisitum in te venerit. Postea decernitur, ac non varie, sed prope cunctis sententiis, *ut laudatio, quae C. Verri decreta esset, tolleretur.* In eo, cum jam non solum discessio[3] facta esset, sed etiam perscriptum atque in tabulas relatum, praetor appellatur.[4] At quis appellat? Magistratus aliquis? Nemo. Senator? Ne id quidem.[5] Syracusan-

[1] *Ne—filius*, &c. alludes to the dissolute life and unnatural desires of which Verres was suspected. *Nudata*, as applied to the province, is the same as *exhausta, despoliata.*

[2] Unless we read *fuisse* for *fecisse*, we might refer *hoc* to what has been mentioned above—the shameless images of Verres and his favourite: 'this very thing has brought about such a decree to praise him, as I see from the fact that,' &c. To *docent* supply *litterae publicae.*

[3] 'When the voting upon it had commenced;' that is, when the two parties voting for and against it had separated. The same method of voting was adopted in the senate at Rome.

[4] 'An appeal is made to the praetor.' The praetor, L. Metellus, was to prevent the suppression of the *laudatio.*

[5] To *ne id quidem*, supply the verb *fit.*

rum aliquis? Minime. Quis igitur praetorem appellat? Qui quaestor istius fuerat, P. Caesetius. O rem ridiculam! O desertum hominem, desperatum, relictum! A magistratu Siculo,[1] ne senatus consultum Siculi homines facere possent, ne suum jus suis moribus, suis legibus obtinere possent, non amicus istius, non hospes, non denique aliquis Siculus, sed quaestor[2] populi Romani praetorem appellat. Quis hoc audidit? quis audivit? Praetor aequus[3] et sapiens dimitti jubet senatum. Concurrit ad me maxima multitudo. Primum senatores clamare, sibi eripi jus, eripi libertatem: populus senatum laudare, gratias agere: cives Romani a me nusquam discedere. Quo quidem die nihil aegrius factum est, multo labore meo, quam ut manus ab illo appellatore abstinerentur. Cum ad praetorem in jus adissemus, excogitat tane[4] acute quid decernat. Nam antequam verbum facerem, de sella surrexit atque abiit.[5] Itaque tum de foro, cum jam advesperasceret, discessimus.

66. Postridie mane ab eo[6] postulo, ut Syracusanis liceret senatus consultum, quod pridie fecissent, mihi reddere. Ille nimvero negat: et ait, indignum facinus esse, quod ego in senatu Graeco verba fecissem: quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse. Respondi homini, ut potui, ut debui, ut volui. Cum multa, tum etiam hoc me memini dicere, facile esse perspicuum, quantum inter hunc et illum Numidicum,[7] verum ac germanum Metellum, interesset: illum noluisse sua laudatione juvare L. Lucullum,[8] sororis virum, quicum optime convenisset; hunc hominem alienissimo a civitatibus laudationes per vim et metum comparare. Quod ubi intellexi, multum apud illum recentes

[1] 'Disregarding the Sicilian magistrate.'

[2] Who was not even in office.

[3] *Praetor aequus*, and what follows, must be taken ironically.

[4] *Sane*, 'no doubt;' for he was sitting there in silence.

[5] Namely, in order not to be obliged to express his opinion, or because he had nothing to say.

[6] Namely, *a L. Metello propraetore.*

[7] Metellus, the conqueror of Jugurtha, and the predecessor of Marius in the Jugurthine war.

[8] This L. Lucullus was the father of the celebrated conqueror of Mithridates; he was accused by the augur Servilius of peculation (*peculatus*), and condemned.

nuntios,[1] multum tabellas non commendaticias,[2] sed tributarias valuisse, admonitu Syracusanorum ipsorum impetum in eas tabulas facio,[3] in quibus S. C.[4] perscripserant. Ecce autem nova turba atque rixa, ne tamen istum omnino Syracusis sine amicis, sine hospitibus, plane nudum esse ac desertum putetis. Retinere incipit tabulas Theomnastus[5] quidam, homo ridicule insanus, quem Syracusani Theoractum[6] vocant; qui illic ejusmodi est, ut eum pueri sectentur, ut omnes, cum loqui coepit, irrideant. Hujus tamen insania, quae ridicula est aliis, mihi tum molesta sane fuit: nam cum spumas ageret in ore,[7] oculis arderet, voce maxima vim me sibi afferre clamaret, copulati in jus[8] pervenimus. Hic ego postulare coepi, ut mihi tabulas obsignare ac deportare liceret. Ille contra dicere: negare, esse illud S. C., in quo praetor appellatus esset; negare, id mihi tradi oportere. Ego legem recitare, omnium mihi tabularum et litterarum fieri potestatem. Ille furiosus urgere, nihil ad se nostras leges pertinere. Praetor intelligens[9] negare sibi placere, quod senatus consultum ratum[10] esse non deberet, id me Romam deportare. Quid multa? nisi vehementius homini minatus essem, nisi legis sanctionem[11] poenamque recitassem, tabularum mihi potestas facta non esset. Ille autem insanus, qui pro isto vehementissime contra me declamasset, postquam non impetravit, credo, ut in gratiam mecum rediret, libellum mihi dat, in quo istius furta Syracusana perscripta erant: quae ego antea jam ab illis[12] cognoram et acceperam.

67. Laudent te jam sane Mamertini, quoniam ex tota provincia soli sunt, qui te salvum velint: ita tamen laudent, ut

[1] Namely, from Verres.

[2] These are not letters of recommendation, but letters promising money as a reward.

[3] In order to take them with me to Rome.

[4] Namely, the decree of the senate to suppress the *laudatio*.

[5] Or Theomnestus (Θεόμνηστος). He was a priest of Jupiter.

[6] That is, Θεόβρηκτος, 'a person struck by the Deity' (with madness).

[7] *Spumas agere in ore*, 'to foam with rage.'

[8] *In jus*; that is, 'before the praetor.'

[9] *Intelligens* is here said in the same way as *aequus* above.

[10] On account of the appeal of Caesetius.

[11] *Sanctio* is that part of a law which contains the punishment to be inflicted on those who violate it. Cicero uses this threat in order to obtain possession of the written documents.

[12] The *illis* here refers to the Syracusans.

Heius, qui princeps legationis est, adsit:[1] ita laudent, ut ad ea, quae rogati erunt, mihi parati sint respondere. Ac ne subito a me opprimantur, haec sum rogaturus: *Navem populo Romano debeantne?* fatebuntur: *praebuerintne, praetore C. Verre?* negabunt: *aedificarintne navem onerariam maximam publice, quam Verri dederunt?* negare non poterunt: *frumentum ab iis sumpseritne C. Verres, quod populo Romano mitteret, sicuti superiores?*[2] negabunt: *quid militum aut nautarum per triennium dederint?* nullum datum dicent. Fuisse Messanam omnium istius furtorum ac praedarum receptricem, negare non poterunt: permulta multis navibus illinc exportata:[3] hanc navem denique maximam a Mamertinis datam, onustam cum isto profectam fatebuntur. Quamobrem tibi habe sane istam laudationem Mamertinorum: Syracusanam quidem civitatem, ut abs te affecta est, ita in te esse animatam videmus: apud quos etiam Verria[4] illa flagitiosa sublata sunt. Etenim minime conveniebat, ei deorum honores haberi, qui simulacra deorum abstulisset. Etiam, hercule, illud in Syracusanis merito reprehenderetur, si, cum diem festum[5] ludorum de fastis suis sustulissent[6] celeberrimum et sanctissimum, quod eo ipso die Syracusae a Marcello captae esse dicuntur, iidem diem festum Verris nomine agerent, cum iste a Syracusanis, quae ille calamitosus dies reliquerat, ademisset. At videte hominis impudentiam atque arrogantiam, judices, qui non solum Verria haec turpia ac ridicula ex Heraclii pecunia constituerit, verum etiam Marcellia tolli imperarit, ut ei[7] sacra facerent quotannis, cujus opera omnium annorum sacra deosque patrios amiserant;[8] ejus autem familiae[9] dies festos tollerent, per quam ceteros quoque festos dies recuperarant.

[1] Then he will demand back his stolen treasures of art.
[2] That is, those who had been propraetors in Sicily before him.
[3] Namely, to Rome and to the villas of Verres.
[4] Which he had instituted in place of the Marcellia.
[5] That is, the Marcellia.
[6] Namely, by the command of Verres.
[7] As if he were a god.
[8] As if nothing was now left but to offer sacrifices to Verres. *Patrii dii* are the gods whose worship is indigenous in the country, in opposition to the ridiculous new worship.
[9] The family here alluded to is that of the Claudii Marcelli. Cicero intentionally uses the word *familia*, although he is speaking of M. Claudius Marcellus alone; for other members of the family, C. Marcellus and Cn. Lentulus, were among the judges whose favour he wished to gain for his clients.

ORATIO DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEII,

SIVE

PRO LEGE MANILIA.

THE speech *pro lege Manilia*, or, as it is called in the manuscripts, *De imperio Cn. Pompeii*, was delivered by Cicero in the consulship of M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus, B.C. 66. He was then praetor, and addressed his speech to a numerous assembly of the Roman people in the Forum. Certain expressions of Cicero lead us to suppose that the speech must have been delivered in the second half of the year, towards the beginning of autumn. The circumstances of the time were extremely favourable to the orator; for Mithridates, who, for more than twenty years, had been engaged in a vigorous war against the Romans, had not yet been compelled to desist from his hostilities against them. It was just about this time that Mithridates was recovering the advantages of which he had been deprived by Lucullus, who had commanded the Roman armies in the East for a period of seven years, and had now been recalled. The Pontic king had again advanced from the mountains of Armenia into Asia Minor, and Acilius Glabrio, who was consul in B.C. 67, and succeeded Lucullus, was unable to offer him any effectual resistance. At the time when Mithridates was gradually recovering his strength, Pompey had been engaged in a short, but successful and brilliant war against the pirates: he had subdued and pursued them to the remotest corners in the east of the Mediterranean. When Cicero delivered the present speech, Pompey's campaign against the pirates was at an end, but he still possessed unlimited command of the fleet and army in all parts of the Mediterranean, and on all its coasts to a considerable distance from the sea. We are not intimately acquainted with the secret motives which actuated the leading men at Rome, but it is very possible that Pompey exerted his influence upon them from the East: in short, the tribune C. Manilius brought forward a bill proposing that the war against Mithridates should be committed to Pompey; that he should conduct it with all the means he still had at his command; and that, accordingly, he should be left in possession of his unlimited powers; and, moreover, that the interior of Asia also should be assigned to him as his province. The moderate and truly republican patriots thought that this was going too far, and that it was dangerous to intrust so much power to one man. Q. Catulus, and the orator Hortensius, accordingly opposed

the bill of Manilius; while others, and especially Julius Caesar, either in order to establish a precedent, or to create a reaction against Pompey, by committing so much power to him, spoke in favour of Manilius and Pompey. Cicero himself defended the Manilian bill with all the influence of his brilliant eloquence, and induced the people unanimously to intrust to Pompey the supreme command in the war against Mithridates.

The speech may be divided into two unequal parts, the *first* of which extends to chap. 17, and is subdivided into three sections, which Cicero himself describes towards the end of chap. 2. He speaks 1. *De genere belli*, of the nature of the war, for the purpose of showing that it is necessary to continue it, and bring it to a close (chap. 1-8); 2. *De magnitudine belli*, of its vastness, to show that it is dangerous, and requires energetic measures (chap. 8-10); 3. *De imperatore diligendo* (chap. 10-17), of the appointment of a suitable commander, in order to show that Cn. Pompey is above all others the man to conduct such an important war, because he possesses all the qualifications which a true general must have — namely, experience, valour, military fame, and good-luck. In the *second* part of the speech, which to some extent is a recapitulation of what has already been said, Cicero, in opposition to Catulus and Hortensius, endeavours to set forth the honesty and disinterestedness of Pompey as contrasted in some measure with the conduct of Lucullus, and to refute the idea of its being unusual and dangerous to accumulate so much power in the hands of one man, by showing that similar things had occurred in the case of other generals, and that an extraordinary measure was justified by the extraordinary nature of the war.

The following chronological arrangement of the events of the war against Mithridates may be useful to the student:—

B.C. 74.—The third Mithridatic war. Lucullus is appointed commander of the land forces, and L. Aurelius Cotta of the fleet. Mithridates besieges Cyzicus, and is surrounded by the army of Lucullus.

73.—Mithridates, after the loss of his army, takes to flight, and loses his fleet in a storm.

72.—Lucullus penetrates into Pontus, and besieges Amisus; while Cotta besieges Heraclea, and Pompey brings the war against Sertorius to a close.

71.—Lucullus fights in Cappadocia without gaining any decisive results, but in the end puts the enemy to flight. L. Murena near Amisus. Pompey brings the servile war to a close.

70.—Lucullus takes Amisus, Sinope, and other towns. Cotta allows his soldiers to plunder Heraclea. Pompey consul. Mithridates flees.

69.—Lucullus advances across the Euphrates; conquers Tigranes; lays siege to Tigranocerta, and there completely defeats Tigranes; takes and plunders Tigranocerta.

B.C. 68.—Lucullus is prevented by a mutiny among his soldiers from advancing further; he returns, and winters at Nisibis. Mithridates returns, defeats Fabius, and recovers Armenia Minor.

67.—Mithridates defeats Triarius on the Iris, and recovers Pontus. Lucullus, on his march against Tigranes, is abandoned by his soldiers. His successor Glabrio goes to Asia. Tigranes enters Cappadocia, and ravages it. Pompey, on the proposal of the tribune Gabinius, receives the supreme command in the war against the pirates.

66.—Pompey terminates the war against the pirates; and by the Manilian law, recommended by Cicero, he obtains the supreme command against Mithridates and Tigranes. He expels the enemy from Cappadocia, defeats them near Nicopolis on the Euphrates, and Mithridates withdraws into Colchis. Tigranes sues for peace, and receives back his kingdom with the exception of some parts (Sophene, Gordyene).

65.—Pompey for a time pursues Mithridates, and then returns to Pontus, which he constitutes as a Roman province. Deiotarus obtains Armenia Minor.

QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester[1] multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus[2] ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime[3] patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam, cum antea per aetatem[4] nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria afferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi.[5] Ita neque hic locus vacuus

[1] *Frequens conspectus vester;* that is, *conspectus frequentiae vestrae,* 'the sight of a numerous assembly of you.'

[2] By *hic locus* Cicero points to the *Rostra* between the Forum and Comitium. *Amplissimus* and *ornatissimus* convey a double meaning—namely, first the literal, and secondly, a figurative, inasmuch as *amplissimus* being qualified by *ad agendum*, signifies 'the most worthy,' 'the most suitable to the highest magistrates when transacting business with the people' (*agere cum populo*); *ornatissimus* being qualified by *ad dicendum*, indicates more generally the honourable distinction which the place itself confers upon the orator. The proper meaning of *amplissimus* and *ornatissimus* is, 'the most comprehensive,' and 'the most splendid.'

[3] Because not only magistrates, but any one who possessed knowledge and skill, might address the people from the Rostra.

[4] 'On account of my youth;' that is, because I had not yet been invested with any of the high offices.

[5] *Omne meum tempus—putavi:* this sentence explains the vitae meae

unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus ex vestro judicio fructum[1] est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum[2] ter praetor primus[3] centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre; certe et si quid auctoritatis in me est, [ea] apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et si quid in dicendo consequi possum,[4] iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum jure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi[5] causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute; hujus autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

2. Atque, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus[6] ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur,

rationes mentioned before. The plural *tempora* signifies *negotia, necessitates*, 'business,' 'requirements.'

[1] By *fructus amplissimus* the orator alludes to his praetorship, 'the fruit he had reaped by his success as an orator.' Below, *fructus* is again used in this sense.

[2] An adjournment of the comitia for electing magistrates took place on the suggestion of the augurs (when the auspices were unfavourable), or on the intercession of a tribune: in the case here alluded to the comitia had been adjourned twice on account of the intercession of Cornelius.

[3] In Cicero's time there were eight praetors; Cicero had been elected first, and accordingly his name was always mentioned first. He had been elected unanimously (*cunctis centuriis*) in the comitia centuriata.

[4] 'If by my efforts as an orator generally I can gain any object,' or 'exercise any influence:' *dicendo consequi* would mean, 'to gain an object by a particular speech.'

[5] *In hac insolita—dicendi:* these words contain a repetition of the idea expressed in the beginning—*cum antea per aetatem—attingere auderem.*

[6] *Vectigalia*, 'public revenues.' These revenues consisted partly of the tributes in kind (*decumae*, tithes) from land, partly of rents paid for the use of pasturage (*scriptura*), and partly of import and export duties

Mithridate et Tigrane;[1] quorum alter relictus,[2] alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie litterae (quorum magnae res[3] aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae:[4] qui ad me pro necessitudine,[5] quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt:) Bithyniae,[6] quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ariobarzanis,[7] quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit,[8] non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti; eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

Causa quae sit, videtis: nunc quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est enim belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat; in quo agitur[9] populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a majoribus cum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt;

(*portoria*). They were farmed to the equites, who were answerable to the state for the sums required.

[1] Mithridates was king of Pontus, and Tigranes, his father-in-law—or, according to others, his son-in-law—was king of Armenia, which in the east bordered upon Pontus.

[2] *Alter relictus;* that is, Mithridates, whom Lucullus, after having defeated him, allowed to escape. *Alter lacessitus;* that is, Tigranes, into whose kingdom Lucullus transferred the war. See chap. 9.

[3] *Magnae res;* that is, *magnae opes* or *divitiae*. *Aguntur*, equivalent to *periclitantur*, 'are in danger of being lost.'

[4] 'Are employed in raising your public revenue.'

[5] *Necessitudo* alludes to the fact, that Cicero was the son of an eques.

[6] *Bithynia* had been bequeathed to the Roman people in B.C. 74 by the will of its last king Nicomedes.

[7] Ariobarzanes was king of Cappadocia. Respecting *discedere*, see the note on *relictus* above.

[8] Namely, M'. Acilius Glabrio, the successor of Lucullus, and governor of Bithynia, who was unable to hold out when Mithridates again advanced in B.C. 67.

[9] *Agitur*, as above, in the sense of *periclitatur*.

aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum.

3. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore[1] concepta: quae penitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quod is, qui uno die,[2] tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere[3] e patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus,[4] hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena[5] de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verumtamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt, venia danda, quod reliquerunt;[6] propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica,[7] Murenam[8] Sulla revocavit.

[1] That is, in the year B. C. 88. *Macula concepta*, 'the stain brought upon you,' both by the insults offered to Roman officers, and by the murder of a large number of Romans. That stain has never yet been wiped off (*penitus insedit*).

[2] According to others, Mithridates had ordered his satraps, within thirty days, to murder all the Romans living in Asia, without regard to sex or age. The number of Romans murdered on that occasion is said to have been 80,000, or, according to others, 150,000.

[3] 'To break forth,' as the sun breaks forth from the clouds; whence afterwards *in Asiae luce*; that is, *in conspectu vestro*.

[4] *Vectigalia* here are the territories from which Rome derived her revenue; but it may also be taken in the sense of the revenues themselves; in which case *luce* must be taken metaphorically, in the sense of 'glory' or 'crown:' the *vectigalia* constitute the glory, or the best thing we possess in Asia.

[5] Both Sulla and Murena triumphed in B. C. 81.

[6] *Quod egerunt—quod reliquerunt;* a very concise expression, in imitation of the Greek; the antecedent of *quod*—namely, *ejus*—is omitted.

[7] Sulla concluded peace with Mithridates in B. C. 84, and returned to Rome, which was in the hands of Cinna and Carbo, and had been oppressed in his absence by C. Marius.

[8] Sulla recalled Murena from Asia, where he was carrying on a useless and unsuccessful war against Mithridates.

4. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui posteaquam[1] maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset et se Bosporanis,[2] finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces,[3] quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum duobus in locis dijunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est;[4] in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa[5] rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema,[6] quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostra neque falsa afficta esse videatur. De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

5. Majores nostri saepe mercatoribus[7] aut navicularis in-

[1] Observe the subjunctive after *posteaquam*, as if in the apodosis we had *mittebat* or *missurus erat*, instead of *misit*.

[2] Bosporani are the inhabitants on the coast of the Cimmerian Bosporus, to whom Mithridates, after having subdued them, had given his son Machares as king. This happened before the outbreak of the third Mithridatic war; but *simularet* is nevertheless the right reading, and not *simulasset*, for the people in the extreme west could not know the real state of affairs. The preparations for the war might indeed have been completed, but not his pretending to carry on a war against the Bosporani.

[3] That is, to Sertorius, the ablest and most powerful among the leaders of the Marian party.

[4] Namely, in B. C. 72. Sertorius, after having maintained himself in Spain for a period of eight years, was murdered during a conspiracy of his soldiers; and Pompey brought the war to a close, after having defeated and killed M. Perperna, who had usurped the position of Sertorius.

[5] The *initia illa* allude to the victories of Lucullus at Cyzicus and Cabira in B. C. 72.

[6] That is, the defeats of Fabius and L. Triarius, which Lucullus was unable to prevent, and the return of Mithridates to his kingdom.

[7] *Mercatores* are 'shipowners,' and *navicularii*, 'commanders of *vessels*.'

juriosius tractatis bella gesserunt: vos tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius,[1] Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum[2] populi Romani consularem[3] vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi[4] libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt; vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt; vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiae non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum praesertim vos alium[5] miseritis, neque audent[6] neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos, unum virum[7] esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter[8] esse, quo etiam carent aegrius: cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retar-

[1] 'Somewhat haughtily saluted;' a softening expression; for the ambassadors were grossly insulted, and, as Livy says, even beaten. Corinth was destroyed by L. Mummius in B. C. 146.

[2] Namely, M'. Aquilius, who had been sent as ambassador to Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes; he was put upon an ass, and after having been thus dragged about, he was taken back to the western coast of Asia Minor, where, in addition to all this, he was killed by molten gold being poured into his mouth.

[3] Aquilius had been consul in B. C. 101.

[4] *Illi* refers to *majores nostri*, and *civium* to the *mercatores* and *navicularii* mentioned above.

[5] *Alium;* namely, M'. Acilius Glabrio, the successor of Lucullus.

[6] The subject to *audent* is *cuncta Asia atque Graecia*, since they were afraid of offending (*sine summo periculo*) the actual governor.

[7] That is, Cn. Pompey.

[8] 'In the neighbourhood,' as his war against the pirates had led him to the coast of Cilicia, B. C. 67. *Quo*, 'for which reason.'

datos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant,[1] ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis; atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejusmodi[2] homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. Hunc[3] audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

6. Quare, si propter socios nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores nostri cum Antiocho,[4] cum Philippo,[5] cum Aetolis,[6] cum Poenis[7] bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit injuriis provocatos sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere? praesertim cum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur.

Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus; Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere voltis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. Nam in ceteris rebus, cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est,

[1] Because, from fear of Glabrio, they do not venture to express their wishes.

[2] Alludes to the avarice and rapacity of the ordinary governors of provinces.

[3] That is, Cn. Pompey, in apposition to *ceteros ejusmodi homines*.

[4] Antiochus' love of conquest had induced him to attack Roman allies, and even to put to death Roman citizens. The war against him (from B. C. 192-190) ended with his humiliation.

[5] Philip likewise had ventured to attack Roman allies; namely, the Athenians. The war against him (from B. C. 201 to 197) terminated in his complete defeat by the Romans.

[6] The Aetolians were humbled because they were allied with Antiochus.

[7] Cicero seems to allude especially to the last of the three Punic wars; the Carthaginians being obliged, in self-defence, to wage war *against Masinissa*, king of Numidia, who was allied with Rome.

tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu[1] neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent[2] atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? cum publicani familias maximas,[3] quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis,[4] magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus[5] frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt,[6] conservaritis, non solum (ut ante dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

7. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et[7] publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes[8] et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt; quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. Etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines navi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus[9]

[1] See p. 95, note 6.

[2] *Exercent*, 'are engaged in the management;' *exigunt*, 'collect them by those employed under them.'

[3] Namely, of slaves in their employ.

[4] The persons here alluded to are the officers of the customs, who checked the receivers of the import and export duties.

[5] That is, *vectigalibus*.

[6] Namely, the *publicani*, *qui vectigalia exercent atque exigunt*, as well as those *qui vectigalia pensitant*, those who collect the taxes, and those who pay them.

[7] The *et* here corresponds with *deinde* below.

[8] *Suas rationes*, 'their property,' or perhaps better, 'their activity,' or 'knowledge;' *copias*, equivalent to *opes* or *fortunas*, so that *res* corresponds with *rationes*.

[9] 'In their absence.' Cicero here distinctly speaks of those who, on account of their business, resided in Asia, and did not, like those mentioned immediately after, carry on their foreign business in their counting-houses at Rome. These *mercatores*, or *foeneratores*, who lent

consulere debetis, partim eorum[1] in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae, videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoria recuperare: neque enim iisdem redimendi[2] facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas propter timorem. Deinde quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, certe id quidem calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus: nam tum, cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus, Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse.[3] Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum,[4] quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium cum re publica defenduntur.

8. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest hoc enim dici: belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est, ne forte a vobis,[5] quae diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda

money at a high interest, and the *rustici*, who made large profits by buying and selling estates, were for the most part plebeians, and distinct from the equites, or farmers of the public revenues (*publicani*).

[1] If we read *pars eorum*, the genitive *eorum* would be quite natural; *Partim ipsi—pars eorum*—'partly they themselves, and some of them;' so that we have to supply *aliquot* or *nonnulli*, or take *partim* in the sense of *pars*.

[2] 'Again to undertake the farming.'

[3] *Romae—concidisse*, 'that the credit at Rome had sunk, no payments being made by the publicani.'

[4] *Ratio pecuniarum*, 'money affairs,' 'the state of the money market.' The money-changers and bankers had their offices at the entrances to the Forum; King Tarquinius is said to have partly surrounded the Forum with such stalls for money-changers.

[5] *A vobis* for *vobis*, in order to prevent the possibility of connecting it with *videantur*, instead of with *contemnenda*.

esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intelligant me L. Lucullo[1] tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico, ejus adventu[2] maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque[3] Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cyzicenorum obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit; ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis[4] ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen[5] atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis,[6] omnibus rebus ornatas atque refertas, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.[7]

[1] Cicero endeavours to show that notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of Lucullus, the formidable character of the war is beyond all doubt.

[2] Namely, in the year B. C. 74.

[3] The town of Cyzicus was situated on the Propontis in Mysia; it had bravely defended itself against Mithridates' army of 156,000 men, until Lucullus relieved it. The grateful inhabitants celebrated an annual festival in honour of their deliverer, called Lucullea.

[4] Sertorius had sent some of his followers to Mithridates, who were to attack Italy with a fleet. Lucullus prevented this, by twice conquering the fleet off Tenedos and Lemnos; he made the principal commander his prisoner, and put him to death.

[5] Sinope, a town in Paphlagonia, on the coast of the Euxine; Amisus was east of Sinope, in Pontus.

[6] 'Residences of the king;' in like manner the ancient kings of Persia had three different cities in which they resided—Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana.

[7] *A nullo—laudatum;* even the opponents of the Manilian bill, and of Pompey, have not praised Lucullus so much as I, who am the friend of both.

9. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites, non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea[1] illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui[2] membra in iis locis, qua[3] se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius,[4] rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum a persequendi studio maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et afflictum erexit perditumque recreavit: cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque tentandas putavit; erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi[5] et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, tametsi urbem[6] ex Tigrani regno ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis,[7] tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desi-

[1] Medea, a daughter of Aeetes, king of Colchis, a country connected with Pontus; whence Cicero says, *ex eodem Ponto.*

[2] His name was Apsyrtus.

[3] *In iis locis, qua*, instead of *quibus.*

[4] 'Too eagerly;' see *Gram.* § 89, note.

[5] Murena had plundered a celebrated temple of Diana at Comana, in Cappadocia; and Cicero seems to think that the neighbours of Mithridates dreaded a plunder of this kind, whence he adds *novo terrore concitabantur.*

[6] That is, Tigranocerta, the capital of the king of Armenia.

[7] Especially the battle of Tigranocerta, which, under the command of the same Murena, ended with a fearful defeat of the enemy, in B. C. 69. But notwithstanding this, Lucullus was compelled by his mutinous army to quit Armenia.

derio suorum commovebatur.[1] Hic jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus[2] quam processio longior quaereretur: Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat [et eorum, qui se ex ipsius regno collegerant[3]] et magnis adventitiis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. Jam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictae fortunae facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno: ut [iis] nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem[4] acciderat, ut[5] illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.[6] Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poëtae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant,[7] dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo consulto: sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat, vetere exercitu pulso.

[1] Cicero here smoothes over the disobedience of the soldiers, who complained of the long protracted war, and not of the great distance from home.

[2] These words likewise soften down the real state of affairs, especially the verb *quaereretur*.

[3] The words here put in brackets may be retained, as containing an explanation of *suam manum*, but in that case the *et* before *suam* is superfluous. Mithridates had already reorganised his forces, partly by forming an army of those (*manum eorum*) who had assembled from his own empire, and partly by being supported by many kings and tribes with numerous bands of auxiliaries.

[4] 'Contrary to his expectation.'

[5] The *ut* is connected with both *contentus* and *acciderat*.

[6] Cicero alludes to the defeats of Fabius and Triarius.

[7] 'Who were worn out with military service.'

10. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis. Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quae res est, quae cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritiae disciplinis[1] bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia[2] miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adolescentia[3] maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit; plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli,[4] sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile,[5] Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense

[1] 'Immediately after he had left school.' Pompey, when only seventeen years old, fought under his father, Pompeius Strabo, in the Social War, B.C. 89. That war was the more dangerous to Rome, because the soldiers on both sides had received the same training. The number of men who perished in it is said to have been 300,000.

[2] In the civil war against Cinna, when Pompey likewise served under his father.

[3] At the age of twenty-three he collected an army in Picenum, with which he joined Sulla, who rewarded him with the title of *Imperator*, B.C. 83.

[4] *Offensiones belli*, 'misfortunes in war.'

[5] The civil war here spoken of is that against Cinna; the African, that against Cn. Domitius and Hiarbas, king of Numidia, in B.C. 82; the Transalpine, that on his march against Sertorius, B.C. 77; the Spanish, that against Sertorius himself; the Servile War on his return from Spain, when he destroyed the remnant of the army of the revolted slaves, B.C. 71, after their defeat by M. Crassus; and lastly, the war against the Cilician pirates (*bellum navale*) in B.C. 67.

mixtum ex incitatis atque bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

11. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quae potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit afferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae volgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo; quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia,[1] quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. Testis est Sicilia,[2] quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit. Testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter Gallorum internecione patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae, cum servili bello tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: quod bellum exspectatione ejus attenuatum atque imminutum[3] est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes[4] nunc vero jam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset? aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navi-

[1] This alludes to the civil war against the party of Marius, in which Sulla was victorious.

[2] Before Pompey went to Africa, he drove Perperna from Sicily, made Carbo his prisoner, and put him to death in B.C. 82.

[3] 'Weakened and diminished.' These words express less than the truth, for the Servile War was in reality at an end when Pompey returned from Spain.

[4] What here follows is a brilliant description of the merits of Pompey, who, by the Gabinian law, had received such extraordinary powers, that the war could scarcely terminate otherwise than fortunately for Rome.

gavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus,[1] tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

12. Sed quid ego longinqua[2] commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausum fuisse dicam, cum exercitus nostri nunquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa[3] transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secures[4] in praedonum potestatem pervenirent? Cnidum[5] aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias[6] captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus, atque eos portus quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore[7] a praedonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno[8]

[1] It had already lasted for twenty years.

[2] 'Things lying at a great distance;' in contrast to which Cicero mentions Brundusium, a place quite near home.

[3] 'In the depth of winter,' when the pirates, from fear of the storms, did not venture to come forth from their places of concealment.

[4] Two praetors in their official robes, together with their twelve lictors (at Rome each had two), were on one occasion taken by the pirates.

[5] Cnidus was a Doric town on the coast of Caria, opposite to Rhodes; and Colophon was an Ionian city on the coast of Lydia.

[6] The number of towns captured by the pirates is said to have been four hundred.

[7] Namely, M. Antonius Creticus, the father of M. Antony, the triumvir.

[8] Misenum was a port and cape in Campania. Cicero here uses the plural *liberi*, though, as far as we know, only a daughter of Antonius was carried off, and afterwards ransomed for a large sum of *money*.

autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense[1] incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, cum prope inspectantibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro dii immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis? Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, inde Sardiniam cum classe venit atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia[2] rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis[3] et Gallia praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit; ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus se imperio ac potestati dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit[4] obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum

[1] Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber; so that the pirates even ventured to come to the very neighbourhood of Rome. What consul is alluded to in this sentence is unknown.

[2] 'Granaries.'

[3] Spain was divided by the Iberus (Ebro) into Hither and Further Spain, just as Gaul was divided by the Alps into Gallia Cisalpina and Transalpina.

[4] This is very cunningly expressed: 'he did not take away from them the hope that they would be permitted to surrender to him.' The Cretans would rather have surrendered to Cn. Pompey than to Q. Metellus, who was waging war against them. But Pompey's plan to snatch away this laurel also was thwarted by the firmness of Metellus.

bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

13. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid ceterae, quas paulo ante commemorare coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt? Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae, hujus administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio,[1] quanta humanitate! quae breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione[2] quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint?[3] quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare,[4] qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus diviserit[5] aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit?[6] Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum[7] quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos

[1] *Ingenium* here seems to signify 'eloquence,' or 'oratorical power.'

[2] *Contentio*, equivalent to *comparatio*, 'comparison.'

[3] 'Are still sold, and have been sold,' seems to allude to Acilius Glabrio.

[4] The infinitive *cogitare* depends upon *possumus putare*. *Magnus et amplus*, 'great and high-minded.'

[5] This is a crime with which Lucullus was charged, or, according to others, Glabrio. The genitive *provinciae* is elegantly put between the two substantives, to each of which it belongs.

[6] 'Or has left it at Rome employed in usury,' like a common *foenerator*.

[7] If both these charges are to be referred to Glabrio, the plural *imperatorum* is a mere oratorical figure for *imperatoris*; for that Cicero alludes to an actual case is clear from *ferant*.

in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum[1] nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini; tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet,[2] neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non volt. Hic miramur hunc hominem[3] tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero, quemadmodum milites hibernent,[4] quotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur; non modo, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

14. Age vero, ceteris in rebus qua sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt; non avaritia[5] ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido[6] ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis[7] ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum

[1] In consequence of the Social War, the Italian towns had obtained the Roman franchise. The *imperatores* here spoken of are the commanders in the wars which were carried on in Italy; namely, the Civil and the Servile Wars.

[2] Here, again, Lucullus is said to be alluded to, who had endeavoured by all means to hush up a charge of embezzlement and oppression.

[3] That is, *Cn. Pompeium*. *In Asiam pervenerint;* namely, in the war against the pirates.

[4] Pompey's army was still encamped in Asia, on the frontiers of Cilicia.

[5] *Avaritia;* in contrast to what was said in chap. 9 of the soldiers of Lucullus.

[6] Pompey, for example, sent back the wives of Mithridates to their relatives.

[7] This seems to allude to Athens, where Pompey offered up a sacrifice, and then sailed away after having addressed his soldiers.

oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc deniqne incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia,[1] quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt non sine causa majores suos tum, cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco[2] saepe cognovistis. Fidem vero ejus quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae[3] bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

15. Et, quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa[4] commoveri? Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara judicia[5] fecistis? An vero ullam usquam

[1] Cicero here reminds his hearers of such men as Camillus, Fabricius, and others.

[2] That is, *ex rostris*. Others, and Cicero himself elsewhere, state that Pompey as an orator was not above mediocrity.

[3] 'Of our time.'

[4] 'By some definite reason,' as opposed to *opinio* and *fama*.

[5] Namely, by conferring honours and dignities upon him, and that *especially* at an age at which it was not customary to do so. Thus

esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus referto foro[1] completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit?[2] Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur; qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae[3] ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Jam, accepta in Ponto calamitate[4] ex eo proelio, de quo vos paullo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi id ipsum temporis[5] divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

16. Age vero, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se

Pompey was allowed to triumph before he had attained the legitimate age: he was made consul without having passed through the inferior offices, &c.

[1] The Forum was crowded, and the steps of the temples surrounding it, whence the rostra could be seen, were likewise occupied. Hence Cicero says, *universus populus Romanus.*

[2] The people demanded Pompey, and him alone, to be their commander in the war against the pirates. It is stated that the people, on hearing that he had been appointed second commander, became so fearfully uproarious, that a raven flying across the Forum was stunned by the noise, and fell down among the multitude.

[3] 'The cheapness of grain.'

[4] See chap. 9.

[5] For *eo ipso tempore;* see *in Catil.* i. 4. Namely, in consequence of the war against the pirates. Another reading is, *nisi ad ipsum ejus temporis discrimen—fortuna—attulerit*, which it is more easy to explain: 'had not fortune, to decide the matter, led Pompey thither.'

uni dediderunt! quod Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator[1] exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque ad Hispaniam[2] misit eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus erat semper molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum judicari maluerunt?[3] Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem multis postea[4] rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam praestare[5] de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum[6] est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo,[7] Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare[8] videamur, ne aut invisa diis immor-

[1] That is, Metellus Creticus. See chap. 12.

[2] Where Pompey was then engaged against Sertorius, and that as quaestor, not, as was usually the case, as consul.

[3] As Pompey was only quaestor, the consulars, Q. Metellus and Perperna, who were jealous of him, considered this *legatus* only as a *speculator* or spy.

[4] After the Spanish war down to the time of the present speech, Pompey had distinguished himself by many military exploits.

[5] *Praestare aliquid*, 'to guarantee,' 'to vouch for.'

[6] Supply *dicere* or *timide et pauca dicere*.

[7] That is, Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator (the Hesitator), the first great opponent of Hannibal in the second Punic War. Marcellus is M. Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse in B. C. 212. Cicero here mentions only one Scipio, although both may be said to have had the *felicitas* of which the orator speaks. C. Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and Teutones, was seven times consul, and died in B. C. 86.

[8] 'To hope;' but not to infer that it must always be so, in order not *to call forth* the envy of the gods.

talibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur. Itaque non sum praedicaturus, quantas ille res domi, militiae, terra marique quantaque felicitate gesserit; ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint: hoc brevissime dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt: quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum[1] sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut negligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitabitis,[2] Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

17. Quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent,[3] accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus diis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium[4] committamus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis[5] affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis

[1] The words *ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit*, express more than a hope; they express the confidence, nay, the necessity: 'you must wish and desire that,' &c.

[2] 'Will you hesitate;' that is, *non dubitabitis, quin conferatis.*

[3] Namely, from Glabrio.

[4] *Bellum regium* in antithesis to *cetera summa*, signifies a war against kings, as well as a great or extraordinary war.

[5] The offices with which he had been invested are the benefits and rewards which the Roman people conferred upon him.

auctoritates[1] contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem; atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, [unum] dignissimum esse Pompeium; sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri[2] non oportere. Obsolevit[3] jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa[4] copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium,[5] graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa[6] valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur?[7] cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? cum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam jam obire[8] possemus?

18. Quae civitas antea unquam fuit, non dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur;[9] non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt; non Rhodiorum,[10] quorum usque ad nostram me-

[1] 'Weight of opinion,' or 'weighty opinions.'

[2] *Deferri* is somewhat more contemptuous than *tribui*.

[3] 'Has become powerless,' 'useless.' [4] 'Flow of eloquence.'

[5] A. Gabinius was tribune in B.C. 67, and by his law Pompey obtained the sole and unlimited command over the whole of the Mediterranean and its coasts.

[6] *Vera causa*, 'the true interest.' Cicero, like a true popular orator, ever and anon brings forward Pompey's success in the war against the pirates, in order to press upon the people the absolute necessity of again committing to Pompey the supreme command.

[7] Who these persons were is nowhere stated.

[8] *Rem obire*, 'to enter upon a business,' 'to undertake a thing.'

[9] Athens was a maritime power from the time of Themistocles till the end of the Peloponnesian War, and afterwards again under Conon.

[10] The Rhodians were allied with Rome, and supported her in her *maritime* wars.

moriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quae civitas unquam tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At, hercule, aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis,[1] sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. Nos, quorum majores Antiochum[2] regem classe Persenque superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginienses,[3] homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poteramus. Nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, cum insula Delos[4] tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebant, iidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus: et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum ascendere, cum eum nobis majores nostri exuviis nauticis[5] et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent!

19. Bono te animo,[6] Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebatis:[7] sed tamen in salute communi idem popu-

[1] *Utilitatis* here is the same as *vectigalium*.

[2] After the victory of Thermopylae in B.C. 191, C. Atilius captured a large convoy of provisions off the island of Andros. Perseus (see *Gram.* § 58, note 9), the last king of Macedonia, was defeated by Aemilius Paulus at Pydna, and captured in Samothrace by Cn. Octavius, who celebrated a naval triumph over him in B.C. 168. Liv. xlv. 42.

[3] In the first Punic War, it was especially the naval victory of C. Duilius off Mylae, on the north coast of Sicily (B.C. 260), that created a great sensation. M. Atilius Regulus also gained a victory at sea off Ecnomus in B.C. 256; and Lutatius Catulus gained a third in B.C. 242, near the Aegatian islands.

[4] After the destruction of Corinth, Delos, with its excellent harbour, became the principal naval station between Europe and Asia. Being destroyed in the Mithridatic war, it never recovered its importance.

[5] The rostra were adorned with the beaks of conquered ships.

[6] 'With a good intention.'

[7] Namely, you Catulus and your party.

lus Romanus dolori suo[1] maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando[2] vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare.

Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum[3] esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? id quod est verius;[4] ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an ipse,[5] cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet ejus gloriae imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo[6] est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes?[7] qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando[8] consules spero ad senatum relaturos.[9] Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum,[10] quo minus vobis fretus vestrum jus beneficiumque[11] defendam; neque praeter

[1] 'Its indignation,' *dolor* being here equivalent to *indignatio*.

[2] *Aliquando*, 'at length.'

[3] 'Badly' or 'enviously acted towards,' &c.

[4] Namely, *utrique obtrectatum esse*.

[5] That is, A. Gabinius: the optimates, who had with reluctance allowed the bill of Gabinius to pass, endeavoured at least to prevent its author from becoming the legate of Pompey.

[6] 'At his peril,' alluding to the issue so long as it was uncertain.

[7] 'So cautious,' or 'anxious that he should not become Pompey's legate.' They had, however, a right to act in this manner; because, to avoid the appearance of partiality, a general was not allowed by law to make the tribune on whose proposal he had obtained the command at once his legate.

[8] That is, *de quo, ut legatus fiat*.

[9] *Referre*, 'to make a report,' with which also a proposal may be connected.

[10] The consuls had the right to forbid a senator to make a speech or a proposal, when it was not done in the regular order of the day.

[11] '*Your right* to confer an office (*beneficium*) on whom you please.'

intercessionem[1] quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur,[2] etiam atque etiam, quid liceat,[3] considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscribitur;[4] propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

20. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset,[5] in quo spem essetis habituri,[6] cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in ipso[7] vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso[8] ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute.—At[9] enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—Non dicam[10] hoc loco majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini,[11] in bello utilitati paruisse; semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore[12] esse confecta; duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo

[1] Namely, of the tribunes, who had a right to prevent a decree or a discussion of the senate by their intercession.

[2] Namely, with their *veto*.

[3] 'How far they can go' without injuring the interests of the people, to which Cicero here appeals.

[4] This present has something of a commanding tone.

[5] 'If any misfortune should have happened to him;' that is, if he had died. *Fieri aliquo* is used almost as often as *fieri de aliquo*.

[6] This clause is interrogative, 'in whom you would place your hope.'

[7] That is, *in Q. Catulo;* the people unanimously called out: 'in you.'

[8] 'On this very point,' because the more uncertain human life is, the more the state is bound to avail itself of a great man's best powers while they last.

[9] *At* introduces another of Catulus's objections.

[10] Namely, for the purpose of refuting this objection.

[11] *Consuetudo* here is synonymous with *institua*.

[12] Namely, by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor. See chap. 16.

nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario[1] spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil volt Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate[2] constituta, recordamini.

21. Quid tam novum, quam adolescentulum,[3] privatum, exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? confecit: huic praeesse? praefuit: rem optime ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescenti, cujus aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam equitem Romanum triumphare?[4] at eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omni etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum duo consules[5] clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque[6] pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore, cum esset non nemo in senatu, qui diceret, *Non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule;* L. Philippus dixisse dicitur: *Non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus*[7] *mittere.* Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret,[8] quam ullum alium magistratum[9] per leges capere

[1] Marius had, moreover, been appointed for six successive years to the consulship; a thing contrary to the established custom.

[2] *Summa voluntate,* 'with the perfect concurrence.'

[3] Cicero here begins to recapitulate that which he has already related of Pompey.

[4] Sulla granted Pompey the honour of a triumph after his return from Africa.

[5] Aemilius Lepidus and D. Junius Brutus, in B.C. 77.

[6] Alludes to the war against Sertorius.

[7] 'For the two consuls of the year put together.'

[8] Pompey was made consul at the age of 36, together with M. Licinius Crassus: he had been exempted from the law (*legibus solutus*), which ordained that no man should be appointed consul before his 43d year.

[9] This alludes to the higher or curule magistracies. A person might be-

licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum[1] eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.[2]

22. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari; praesertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem[3] vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt,[4] possit defendere; propterea quod, iisdem istis[5] reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra[6] suis consiliis regere conantur; sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos his repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis; aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur! [Atque[7] in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia modera-

come aedile at the age of 37, and praetor at 40. Scipio Africanus, the elder, however, had been made consul when he was only 24 years old.

[1] Namely, after the close of the war against Sertorius, in B.C. 71.

[2] *A—auctoritate*, 'according to the advice.'

[3] *Auctoritas*, here, as before, is 'advice,' 'opinion;' or, still stronger, 'the will.'

[4] Such as Catulus and Hortensius.

[5] Namely, who now vote against him and you.

[6] *Studia vestra*, 'your zeal' for Pompey.

[7] The part which here follows in brackets has been declared an interpolation. It contains a repetition of the praises already bestowed upon Pompey; and, compared with what has been already said, it cannot be denied that the description of the state of affairs in Asia is exaggerated.

tiores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias.[1] Quod enim fanum[2] putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum volnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis,[3] an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere[4] possit?

23. Quare, etiam si quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis[5] pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica, praeter paucos; neque eos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur: quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.

[1] See chap. 5.

[2] Compare chap. 9.

[3] *Pro—putatis;* supply 'if or since you will not intrust the supreme command to Pompey.'

[4] *Animos ac spiritus capere,* 'satisfy the greediness and insolence.'

[5] *Istis,* equivalent to *talibus,* who do not answer to the conditions *alluded to* at the end of the preceding chapter.

Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.] Quod si auctoritatibus[1] hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus P. Servilius,[2] cujus tantae res gestae terra marique extiterunt, ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio[3] summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus,[4] in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius,[5] integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, ut[6] horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

24. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili,[7] primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum[8] in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est, quod aut de re[9] aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio[10] populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem con-

[1] *Auctoritates*, 'recommendations,' or 'the authority of great men.'

[2] P. Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, was consul in B.C. 79, and defeated the Isaurians, a tribe in Cilicia. He also waged war against the pirates, who had taken refuge in Isauria, and united Cilicia with the Roman Empire.

[3] C. Scribonius Curio was consul in B.C. 76, and in the year after, subdued the Dardanians in Thrace. His triumph belongs to the year B.C. 71.

[4] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus was consul in B.C. 72.

[5] C. Cassius Varus was consul in B.C. 73, and was defeated the year after by Spartacus at Mutina.

[6] 'Remember how,' or 'remember that.'

[7] Cicero, in conclusion, addresses himself to the proposer of the bill, the tribune C. Manilius, and exhorts him to persevere in carrying it.

[8] The first time had been on the occasion of the Gabinian bill.

[9] *De re*, 'about the election of Pompey.'

[10] *Beneficium* is any office conferred by the people, whence Cicero calls the consulship *summum beneficium*.

ficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero :[1] testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime,[2] qui huic loco temploque[3] praesident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quo[4] Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine[5] aut praesidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus[6] quaeram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet,[7] innocentia tecti repellemus; honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra[8] laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret,[9] consequemur. Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo; tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam mihi non necessarias,[10] vobis non inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus[11] praeferre oportere.

[1] *Defero*, 'I place at the disposal.'

[2] That is, Jupiter, Castor, Venus, Hercules, and Concordia.

[3] *Templum* here signifies the rostra, as being a place consecrated by the augurs.

[4] *Quo*, equivalent to *ut eo*, whence the subjunctive after it.

[5] *Amplitudo*, 'great influence.'

[6] Namely, the higher honours, especially the consulship.

[7] The words *ut praestare oportet* explain *innocentia tecti*, 'as a man must show it' (an unblemished character), the *ut* being equivalent to *quam*.

[8] Namely, which I have hitherto shown.

[9] Is a flattering expression, as if he had said, *si vestra voluntas legem feret*. Cicero often alludes to the sovereignty of the people.

[10] *Non necessarias*, 'superfluous;' *non inutiles*, 'not superfluous,' since thereby you will be enabled to distinguish those who are well disposed towards you from those who are ill disposed.

[11] 'To all my advantages and considerations,' and consequently also to the enmities to which I expose myself for your sake.

IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO PRIMA.

HABITA IN SENATU.

L. SERGIUS CATILINA, of the patrician gens Sergia, was so much distinguished among his contemporaries for his mental as well as bodily powers, that it would have been easy for him to run a glorious career, and deserve a better fate. But the evil time on which his earlier life fell, contributed not a little towards developing and fostering his inclination to debauchery, his cruelty, and his reckless ambition. These features in his character, accordingly, soon gained the upper hand. His life, which Cicero's speeches against him depict in dark colours, and sometimes with oratorical exaggeration, while Sallust relates it calmly and faithfully, is a true mirror of the social and public life of the Romans at that time. The republic had outlived itself; and although there yet existed genuine and true republicans worthy of a better age, still, the state was hurrying on irresistibly towards the centralisation of all powers—that is, towards absolute monarchy.

In the time of the proscriptions of Sulla (*Orat.* ii. chap. 9, and iii. chap. 10), Catiline was one of the most active and cruel tools of the dictator; his own brother and brother-in-law fell by his blood-stained hands. His paternal inheritance, though not inconsiderable, was soon squandered, and he at once became one of the malcontents and revolutionists of the time, like many other young men of his rank, who had revelled in debauches with him, and hoped to restore their fortunes by the ruin of the state. After having been quaestor, and having greatly distinguished himself by his courage and perseverance in Macedonia in the capacity of legate to C. Scribonius Curio (B.C. 75), he obtained the praetorship (B.C. 67), and in the year following the administration of Africa as propraetor. On his return from that province, he was accused of extortion by P. Clodius Pulcher, who afterwards acted himself a very notorious part at Rome. Catiline, however, found supporters, and Cicero himself is said to have had some thoughts of defending him; but Catiline found the means of escaping condemnation by bribing both the accuser and the judges.

But this charge, of which he was unjustly acquitted, had at least this effect, that, by a decree of the senate, he was prevented from becoming a candidate for the consulship. Annoyed at this mea-

sure, he formed a conspiracy with P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla, who were consuls elect, but were soon after convicted of bribery (*ambitus*), fined, and deprived of their office. According to a Roman custom, their accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, were appointed consuls for the year B.C. 65. The above-mentioned conspirators were joined by others, and a plan was formed to murder, on the 1st of January B.C. 65, the newly-elected consuls and several senators, and thus to place the consulship again in the hands of the men who had just been deprived of it. The plot, however, was discovered, and its execution prevented by precautionary measures. The conspirators then deferred the execution of their design to the 5th of February; but even then it did not succeed; for Catiline, in his eagerness, gave the signal before all his associates were assembled, and the few who were present had not the courage to undertake anything. An inquiry into this attempt was dropped, because the senate had neither sufficient evidence nor courage to act with the necessary energy; it is also not impossible that a strict inquiry might have involved some of the senators themselves.

The year after this Catiline escaped from another accusation. The catchpoles of Sulla, and those who had executed his proscriptions, were called to account by Julius Caesar, who was then *quaestor inter sicarios;* but Caesar's connivance at Catiline, who was one of the most seriously implicated, saved the criminal, while others less guilty were punished. This success and indulgence only encouraged Catiline to give way to his propensities, so dangerous to the republic and all good citizens; and in addition to this, he was urged on by his debts, his associates, and his ambition.

He again offered himself as a candidate for the consulship for the year B.C. 63. He promised his friends that if he should succeed, he would remove all grievances from the republic; that all differences between poor and rich, high and low, should cease; that he would bring about a general cancelling of debts, and the proscription of the wealthy; and that all the offices of the state, as well as sacerdotal dignities, should be given to his confederates. (Sallust, *Catil.* 17, foll.) These promises, as well as those to whom they were made, soon became known. Curio, one of Catiline's associates, communicated the scheme to Fulvia, a dissolute woman, and she spread the secret further. The knowledge of this plot immediately had its influence upon the elections: M. Tullius Cicero was unanimously elected consul, and C. Antonius Hybrida defeated Catiline by a majority of a few votes.

Catiline, however, was not yet dismayed: he again tried to obtain the consulship for the year B.C. 62, having previously greatly increased the number of his followers and friends by various malcontents and desperadoes. He was now determined to carry by force of arms what he had been unable to gain by lawful means. He also sought and found adherents out of Rome; and more especially in Etruria, large numbers flocked around the centurion C. Mallius, a veteran

of the time of Sulla: he was stationed at Faesulae (Fiesole), and soon had an army ready to fight. Cicero often speaks of this camp of Mallius. In Rome itself Catiline made every possible effort to win the favour of the lower orders. People suspected and dreaded his plans; the laws against bribery were made more stringent; and the consular elections, which ought to have taken place at the end of Quinctilis (July), were postponed till the 20th of October, and afterwards till the 21st. But Cicero was more watchful than any one else; and even before Curio and Fulvia gave him a detailed account of the plans of the conspirators, he had openly shown his suspicions to Catiline; but after he had received those communications, he boldly came forward in the senate, and drew the attention of the house to the existence of the treasonable plot. In the night following, Cicero, through means of Crassus, received a number of anonymous letters cautioning him against Catiline and his bloody designs, and advising him speedily to take to flight. But in the morning Cicero produced these letters in the senate, distributed them among the senators to whom they were addressed, and loudly and impressively called upon Catiline to give an account of his proceedings. Catiline, after having given an impudent and insolent answer, withdrew, uttering threats against the senate.

The following day, the 21st of October, was to be the day of the elections. Cicero had taken all the necessary precautions: he himself wore a breastplate under his toga, and took care that the people should see it, in order that they might be convinced of the imminent danger. D. Junius Silanus was elected consul first, and L. Licinius Murena obtained a few more votes than Catiline, who was thus again defeated.

Catiline now felt driven to extremities, and resolved to use violence; he saw that the senate had taken serious precautions; that the consuls, as in times of great danger, had received unlimited power by the decree, *videant consules, nequid res publica detrimenti capiat;* that troops were sent to the districts which were threatened by the conspirators; and that Rome itself was, as it were, in a state of siege. Accordingly, in the night between the 7th and 8th of November, Catiline had a meeting with his friends in the house of Laeca, where it was determined that Cicero and a number of senators should be murdered; that fire should be set to several parts of Rome; and that Catiline should proceed to the camp of Mallius. In the very hour in which this was planned, Cicero was informed of it by Fulvia. He accordingly forthwith summoned a meeting of the senate on the 8th of November in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline had the audacity to make his appearance there, but the senators showed him their abhorrence and contempt, by moving away from the places near the spot where he sat. But as this had no influence upon him, Cicero, seized with amazement and indignation, delivered his first Catilinarian speech, which is one of the most splendid orations that have come down to us; more especially because it bears the impress

of an extempore speech, and thus furnishes us the most perfect evidence of Cicero's brilliant and successful eloquence. He describes to the senate the threatening danger, incessantly calls upon Catiline to carry out his design of going to the camp of Mallius, and openly to avow his intentions. Catiline assured the house of his innocence and patriotism; but the senators would not listen to him, and showed him their thorough contempt. Catiline, then, with fearful threats, quitted the senate; and in the night following, he, together with 300 followers, betook himself to Mallius in Etruria.

The second Catilinarian speech was delivered on the 9th of November before the assembled people in the Forum. Catiline's partisans at Rome endeavoured to diffuse the opinion that Cicero had treated Catiline too severely, and that the latter had gone into voluntary exile to Massilia, in order not to disturb the public peace. Cicero refutes this belief, which was intended to rouse the people's sympathy; he once more describes the greatness of the criminal plot, and expresses his firm conviction that Catiline was not going to Massilia, but to the camp of Mallius. He lastly calls upon the conspirators, who had remained in the city, to quit Rome as speedily as their leader, if they were unable to retrace their evil steps. Several repetitions, and more especially the division of the friends of Catiline into six classes, render it highly probable that Cicero delivered this speech, like the first, extempore.

The third speech was delivered before the assembled people towards the evening of the 3d of December. Catiline was then in the camp of Mallius, surrounded by all the signs of the consular dignity; and it was now quite evident that the insurrection would soon break out openly. The senators had put on mourning; Catiline and Mallius had been declared public enemies; the consul Antonius and Q. Metellus Celer advanced with an armed force to the north of Etruria, when, unexpectedly, Cicero made a new discovery. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura and C. Cornelius Cethegus, the leaders of the conspirators at Rome, had fixed upon the 17th of December, the festival of the Saturnalia, for murdering Cicero and other senators, and for setting Rome on fire. Lentulus had endeavoured to draw some Allobrogian ambassadors, who happened to be staying at Rome, into the conspiracy; and they seemed at first quite willing to enter into the scheme, but communicated the secret to their patron, Q. Fabius Sanga, who immediately revealed the whole to Cicero. Sanga was now obliged to persuade the ambassadors to induce the conspirators to give them letters to their associates in Etruria. When they were departing with their letters to Catiline and Mallius, Cicero ordered them to be arrested, and to be brought to Rome with their documents. He then summoned the heads of the conspiracy, Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Statilius, ordered them to be brought before the senate, and obliged them to make a full confession of their intended crime. Thereupon they were given into custody to *separate* individuals, who became responsible for them; and the

senate decreed a public thanksgiving to the gods in honour of Cicero. When the meeting of the senate broke up, Cicero immediately announced the new discovery to the people, who were anxiously waiting to know the issue; they loudly expressed their obligation and gratitude to their watchful consul, and accompanied him home, as it were, in a triumphal procession.

The fourth Catilinarian speech was delivered in the senate on the 5th of December. A design had been formed to liberate, by main force, the criminals who had been arrested on the 3d; Cicero, therefore, summoned a meeting of the senate on the 5th, and proposed the question as to what was to be done with the prisoners. According to established custom, Silanus, the *consul designatus*, had the right to express his opinion first. He advised the senate to put the conspirators to death. After him many others expressed their concurrence with his opinion; but Julius Caesar endeavoured to show that perpetual banishment from Rome, and captivity in the municipia, was a more appropriate punishment. Cicero, in his fourth oration, defends the opinion of Silanus. In opposition to Caesar, he considers the senate entitled to pronounce the sentence of death. At the same time he describes the crime itself, and the intentions of the criminals, in such strong colours, that every one must have thought it precarious to allow such dangerous persons to escape with their lives. Cicero was strongly supported by Cato, who had been elected tribune of the people for the year following, and his opinion was adopted by the majority of the senators. The very night after these proceedings the prisoners were strangled in their dungeon. The senate and people accompanied Cicero home, calling him the preserver of the republic and father of his country: the honour and joy of that day (*Nonae Decembres*) are often mentioned by Cicero in his subsequent speeches.

The last three orations were no doubt delivered extempore, and were left by Cicero intentionally in their original form. On this supposition we shall at least arrive at a definite opinion, and more easily than by following Orelli and others, who declare all three orations to be spurious. The evidence adduced by Orelli is, according to his own confession, extremely weak. In order to prove their spurious character, he is obliged to consider a passage in one of Cicero's letters (*ad Att.* ii. 1), in which the orations delivered in Cicero's consulship are enumerated, as a forgery made by the same person who composed these three orations, in order to furnish an important testimony in favour of their authenticity. Orelli, moreover, believes that their real author was Cicero's secretary, M. Tullius Tiro; but he himself owns that both the orations and the passage in Cicero's letter must stand or fall together; and we feel inclined in this place to say, 'let them all stand together.'

QUOUSQUE tandem[1] abutére, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus [nos] eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii,[2] nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus,[3] nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam horum omnium[4] conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proxima, quid superiore[5] nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrûm ignorare arbitraris? O tempora! O mores! Senatus haec intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit:[6] fit publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad caedem unumquemque nostrûm. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis[7] jampridem oportebat; in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio,[8] pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum

[1] The word *tandem* ('then') reminds us of the fact that Catiline, whose proceedings had long been known to the senate, and had already been discussed by Cicero, yet had the audacity to appear in the senate, probably for the purpose of intimidating Cicero. Hence the abrupt beginning and dramatic animation, which Cicero does not display in his other orations, at least not in the same degree. See *pro Ligar.*, chap. 1.

[2] The *Forum Romanum*, and the temple of Jupiter Stator, in which Cicero addressed this speech to the senate, were situated at the foot of the Palatine Hill. (Liv. i. 12.) In times of danger, the Palatine Hill (Palatium) was occupied by soldiers, in order to protect the safety of the city from that commanding height.

[3] *Locus* is the temple of Jupiter Stator; it is called *munitissimus*, because it was situated at the foot of the Palatine. See chap. 5, and compare Sallust, *Cat.* chap. 49. The *vigiliae* are described by Sallust, *Cat.* 30; the *timor populi*, by the same, chap. 31.

[4] That is, of the senators. *Constrictam*, 'checked,' 'thwarted.'

[5] For *superiore*, the orator in chap. 4 uses the word *priore;* it was the night between the 5th and 6th of November, while *proxima* is the night between the 7th and 8th.

[6] Catiline had the right to appear in the senate, because he had been praetor.

[7] Namely, if the senate had declared him a public enemy, which, however, had not yet been done. Respecting *oportebat*, see *Gram.* § 328.

[8] P. Scipio, surnamed Nasica. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the friend of the people, and opponent of the optimates, renewed, in his tribuneship, the Licinian agrarian law, to prevent individuals from possessing *more than 500* jugera of the public land. He is also said to have

mediocriter[1] labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus[2] interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala[3] Sp. Maelium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest rei publicae[4] consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

2. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius[5] consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus clarissimo patre,[6] avo,[7] majoribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius[8] consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario[9] et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica. Num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebi et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena

endeavoured to secure the Roman franchise to the Italians. When he sued a second time for the tribuneship, he, with 300 followers, was slain by the infuriated senators, who were led on by Scipio Nasica. This happened in B.C. 133.

[1] *Mediocriter*, 'slightly;' namely, in comparison with his brother Caius, and more especially with Catiline.

[2] Nasica, though pontifex maximus, was not a magistrate, for he might hold his priestly office for life. *Privatus* stands in apposition to *nos consules*.

[3] C. Servilius Ahala was master of the horse to the dictator Q. Cincinnatus, and slew the eques Spurius Maelius, who distributed corn among the people during a period of dearth, and was charged by the patricians with aiming at making himself king. Ahala slew him with his own hand at the moment when the people tried to rescue him from the lictors, B.C. 439.

[4] *Rei publicae* is the genitive, as we see from the following *ordinis*.

[5] What is here related of L. Opimius happened in B.C. 121. Opimius was the enemy of C. Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius.

[6] His father was Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been twice consul, B.C. 177 and 163, and had celebrated a triumph.

[7] His grandfather on his mother's side was the great P. Scipio Africanus the elder, the conquerer of Hannibal.

[8] M. Fulvius was consul in B.C. 125. He was a friend and follower of C. Gracchus, and in the struggle between Opimius and C. Gracchus, he was slain with his two sons.

[9] This happened in Marius's sixth consulship (B.C. 100), against the tribune L. Saturninus and the praetor Servilius Glaucia.

remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum[1] jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatus consultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis,[2] tamquam in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatus consulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, Patres conscripti, me esse clementem; cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipsum inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra[3] sunt in Italia contra rem publicam in Etruriae faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero: credo, erit verendum mihi,[4] ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, cum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

3. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis [tuae] potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quae jam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine

[1] Namely, from the 21st of October; for from that day to the 8th of November there were twenty days, if, according to the Roman fashion, we include the beginning and the end of the period. Others mention only eighteen days.

[2] That is, it is on record, but has not been carried into effect.

[3] This is the camp of C. Mallius at Faesulae in Etruria. See Sallust, *Cat.* chap. 28. *In faucibus;* that is, *in aditu,* 'at the entrance.' See chap. 3.

[4] *Credo, erit verendum mihi,* for *erit,* credo, *verendum mihi,* since *credo exercises no influence* upon the construction.

me ante diem XII. Kalendas Novembres[1] dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Kal. Novembres, C. Mallium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, caedem te optimatium[2] contulisse in ante[3] diem V. Kalendas Novembres, tum, cum multi principes[4] civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiari potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu, discessu ceterorum,[5] nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede contentum te esse dicebas? Quid? cum tu te Praeneste[6] Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres: sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu, meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

4. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem:[7] jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscure) in M. Laecae[8] domum: convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam, si

[1] That is, 'on the 21st of October.' *Ante diem* does not denote the previous day, but the day spoken of itself, as if it were *duodecimo die ante Kalendas Novembres.*

[2] The *optimates* were the wealthy and illustrious families, both patrician and plebeian. They had stepped into the place of the patricians about the time of the Punic Wars, when all distinctions between patricians and plebeians had ceased, and when birth no longer conferred any privileges. As formerly there had been high and low, so we afterwards find rich and poor.

[3] Two prepositions are otherwise never united in Latin; and *ante diem* must be considered as one word, expressing only one idea.

[4] Cicero may here be alluding to many who quitted Rome in order not to be arrested with Catiline: these intended to prevent the outbreak of the conspiracy by their withdrawal, as they were at least neutral. Hence *reprimendorum.*

[5] 'Even if the others had withdrawn.'

[6] Praeneste, a city in Latium (Palestrina), about 200 stadia to the south-east of Rome. See Sallust, *Cat.* 24 and 27.

[7] *Superiorem*, see chap. 1.

[8] Respecting M. Laeca, see *pro Sulla*, chap. 18.

negas. Video enim [esse] hic in senatu quosdam,[1] qui tecum una fuerunt. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt, nostro in numero, Patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de re publica sententiam rogo! et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce volnero! Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina: distribuisti[2] partes Italiae: statuisti, quo quemque proficisci placeret; delegisti, quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres; descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia; confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum; dixisti paullulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites[3] Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi:[4] domum meam majoribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane ad me salutatum[5] miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

5. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo coepisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portae: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Malliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: si minus, quam plurimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Jovi

[1] See Sallust, *Cat.* 17.

[2] *Distribuisti;* namely, among the conspirators. See *in Catil.* ii. 3, *in fin.*

[3] *Duo equites;* Sallust (*Cat.* 28; comp. Cic. *pro Sulla*, 18) calls Vargunteius, one of them, a senator; other authors mention other names.

[4] See Sallust, *Cat.* 28. Cicero had discovered these things through Fulvia, to whom Curio, one of the conspirators, had communicated everything.

[5] Persons of rank and high magistrates were in the habit of receiving visitors at an early hour in the morning, even while they were yet in bed. *Id temporis*, the same as *eo tempore*.

Statori,[1] antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis[2] consularibus me consulem[3] in campo et competitores tuos[4] interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique, quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam universam petis: templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas.

Quare, quoniam id, quod est primum et quod hujus imperii disciplinaeque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdudum hortor) exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina[5] rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium? Non jubeo: sed si me consulis, suadeo.

6. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non insusta vitae tuae est? [quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret infamiae?] quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit? cui tu adolescentulo,[6] quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam fer-

[1] The senate was assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Respecting the name of the temple, see Liv. i. 12.

[2] Held between the 21st of October and the 5th of November B.C. 64.

[3] 'Me, the presiding consul.'

[4] Namely, D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. See Sallust, *Cat.* 26 and 27.

[5] The same expression is used by Sallust, *Cat.* 37.

[6] Sallust (*Cat.* 14) also describes Catiline as a seducer of young men.

rum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte[1] superioris uxoris novis nuptiis[2] domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere[3] hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto, et facile patior sileri; ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere[4] tibi proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem[5] ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrûm vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut hujus caeli spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias horum esse neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Januarias[6] Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto (neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa[7] post commissa): quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones[8] ita conjectas, ut vitari posse non vide-

[1] *Morte* is here the same as *caede*. Other authors do not mention that Catiline killed his first wife.

[2] 'For a new marriage;' namely, with Aurelia Orestilla. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 15.

[3] Catiline, from jealousy, killed the grown-up son of Orestilla. Others think that Cicero is alluding to the fact that Catiline seduced the daughter of a Vestal virgin whom he had seduced; and the words from *ne* to *videatur* seem to favour this supposition.

[4] 'Break in upon;' namely, on the next ides of November; that is, a few days hence. Debts and interest were usually paid on the kalends of a month; but creditors often allowed debts to stand till the middle of the month. Creditors also used on the ides to give notice that at the next kalends debtors had to pay back the capital they had borrowed with the interest upon it. The former of these seems to be the custom alluded to here, since there was still a considerable time till the kalends of December.

[5] Because Catiline could not pay (*difficultatem*); and because he did not think of paying (*turpitudinem*).

[6] That is, on the 31st of December B.C. 66. See Sallust, *Cat.* 18, who gives a detailed account of the repeated but unsuccessful attempts of Catiline to murder the consuls of the year B.C. 65.

[7] That is, there are yet many things to be related which Catiline did afterwards.

[8] *Petitiones*, equivalent to *impetus*, 'attacks,' such as are made by

rentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! [Nihil agis],[1] nihil assequeris, [nihil moliris], neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quotiens tibi jam extorta est sica ista de manibus! quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [tamen ea carere diutius non potes]:[2] quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris[3] ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

7. Nunc vero, quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paullo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam,[4] cum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi, mehercule, mei si me isto pacto[5] metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus injuria[6] suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me adspectu civium, quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallem: tu, cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque volneras, eorum adspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quae com-

gladiators, and which may be warded off by a slight bending of the body (*declinatione et corpore*).

[1] *Nihil agis* and *nihil moliris* are enclosed in brackets, because in this place these expressions would be only rhetorical exaggerations.

[2] *Tamen—potes;* here the brackets may be removed, if we strike out *diutius*. 'Yet you cannot do without it.'

[3] Namely, *deorum inferorum*, in regard to whom *devota* is the usual expression.

[4] 'Are you waiting until, to your own disgrace, it is spoken out aloud, seeing that silence (for all flee from you) has pronounced such a severe sentence.'

[5] 'In the belief that I was planning their destruction.' The comparison is very cutting, because the Romans were little concerned about the hatred and fear of their slaves.

[6] *Injuria*, 'undeservedly;' its opposite is *conscientia*.

munis est omnium nostrûm parens, odit ac metuit et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec judicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces,[1] tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum[2] impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas[3] leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam[4] esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.'

8. Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid? quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum[5] te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es atque ut domi meae te asservarem rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsi tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem moenibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum[6] praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Marcellum[7] demigrasti; quem tu videlicet[8] et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum

[1] Namely, of persons proscribed by Sulla. Catiline distinguished himself by his unexampled thirst for blood.

[2] Catiline, when praetor in Africa, had conducted himself in such a manner, that after his return he was accused of extortion. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 18.

[3] 'You were not only unconcerned about the law and accusations, otherwise your conduct would have been more in accordance with the law; but you violently broke through them, and annihilated them.' For Catiline was acquitted of the charge of extortion, and afterwards also of a charge of murder.

[4] Namely, *urbem* or *patriam*.

[5] M'. Lepidus was consul in B.C. 66.

[6] Q. Metellus was consul in B.C. 60.

[7] M. Marcellus was one of the persons who knew about the conspiracy.

[8] *This* whole passage must be taken ironically.

fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodia judicarit? Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugae solitudinique mandare?

'Refer,'[1] inquis, 'ad senatum:' id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus: sed tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rem publicam metu: in exilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sestio,[2] si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello[3] dixissem, jam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset.[4] De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet[5] cara, vita vilissima: sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

9. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullum exilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii im-

[1] 'Refer the matter to the senate, that a resolution may be passed, and that I may not be induced, by your opinion, to quit Rome.'

[2] P. Sestius was quaestor of C. Antonius. We still possess an oration of Cicero in defence of this P. Sestius.

[3] M. Marcellus was consul in B.C. 51; he, too, was defended by Cicero in a speech delivered before Caesar, and must not be confounded with the M. Marcellus mentioned before.

[4] Because the senate was obliged to show its good-will towards these two men.

[5] *Videlicet*, 'probably,' is said ironically, and at the same time truly.

mortales duint![1] tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti;[2] dummodo ista privata sit calamitas et a rei publicae periculis sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit. Quamobrem, ut saepe jam dixi, proficiscere:[3] ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta[4] perge in exilium: vix feram sermones[5] hominum, si id feceris; vix molem istius invidiae, si in exilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Mallium; concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium[6] praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Mallio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam,[7] quam tibi ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae

[1] *Duint*, an ancient form for *dent*, like *perduint* for *perdant*. See *Gram.* § 146, 4.

[2] *Tanti* must be conceived to have been uttered with an expressive gesticulation; for its meaning is, 'but I do not care *that* for it;' that is, I do not mind it at all.

[3] It is singular that Cicero should express this command here, having previously stated his conviction that Catiline would not obey it (*tu ut ullum cogites exilium?*): afterwards also we read *ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum;* but the one idea which runs through the whole speech is: you will not quit Rome; therefore, and notwithstanding your aversion, I tell you, depart.

[4] Supply *via*, 'straightway.'

[5] Namely, *malos*, 'the bad things they say of me,' is, like what follows, said in irony.

[6] Forum Aurelium was a small town in the south of Etruria, on the via Aurelia, which led from Rome to the north.

[7] This *aquila* is said to have been the same as the one which Marius had in the war against the Cimbri (Sallust, *Cat.* 59). Ever since the time of Marius, every legion had such an eagle for its standard, to which the soldiers took their oath, and which they revered as a sacred symbol. Hence Cicero says ironically, *sacrarium scelerum*, 'a sanctuary of thy crimes,' because this symbol kept in a chapel was intended to be *the standard in* a criminal undertaking.

sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas? a cujus altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

10. Ibis[1] tandem aliquando, quo te jampridem tua ista cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi haec res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis, conflatam improborum[2] manum. Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere? quibus gaudiis exultabis? quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis? Ad hujus vitae studium meditati sunt[3] illi, qui feruntur, labores tui: jacere[4] humi non modo ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci [tum], cum te a consulatu reppuli,[5] ut exul potius tentare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses atque ut id, quod esset abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium[6] potius quam bellum nominaretur.

11. Nunc, ut a me, Patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter, quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate.[7] Etenim, si mecum patria, quae mihi

[1] Namely, into the contest and your own ruin.

[2] *Improborum*; see Sallust, *Cat.* 14, who describes them minutely.

[3] *Meditor*, though a deponent verb, is here used in a passive sense, 'devised.' Comp. *Gram.* § 139, note 2.

[4] *Jacere* forms a kind of apposition to *labores tui*, for otherwise we should have *ut*, or *ad* with the gerund. The same is the case with the following infinitive, *vigilare*.

[5] A few days before the delivery of the present oration, when Catiline was for the third time a candidate for the consulship. Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 26; Cic. *pro Muren.* 25. Cicero accused him of bribery.

[6] *Latrocinium* is 'an attack by robbers.' Comp. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* vi. 23 and 35.

[7] Cicero now endeavours to justify before the senate his desire to see Catiline quit Rome.

vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servorum[1] et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? Mosne majorum? At persaepe etiam privati[2] in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt?[3] At nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te hominem per te cognitum,[4] nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium[5] per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam aut alicujus periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, num est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio[6] conflagraturum?'—

12. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu judicarem, Patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladia-

[1] According to Sallust (*Cat.* 43), Catiline afterwards rejected them.

[2] Compare p. 131, note 2.

[3] There were several laws of this kind: for example, a *lex Valeria* (passed in B.C. 509), respecting which see Livy, ii. 8. The *leges Porciae* (a tribune Porcius Laeca occurs in B.C. 199) ordained: *ne quis civem Romanum vinciret, aut verberaret, aut necaret;* and the lex Sempronia, passed by C. Gracchus in B.C. 123: *ne de capite civis injussu populi judicaretur;* that is, that no Roman citizen should be sentenced to death without a resolution of the people. The term *rogare* signifies to propose a bill to the people for their sanction.

[4] 'Known through your own merits.' Cicero was a *novus homo;* that is, he had no ancestors who had been invested with high offices at Rome.

[5] That is, the consulship, the *gradus* to which were the quaestorship, aedileship, and praetorship.

[6] That is, *summa invidia;* do you not believe that you, too, will be *consumed by the* flames of hatred?

tori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini[1] et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae[2] mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli[3] sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae imminent, non videant, aut ea, quae vident, dissimulent: qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis[4] aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt: quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie[5] factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Malliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intelligo hanc rei publicae pestem paullisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos[6] aggregaverit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

13. Etenim jamdiu,[7] Patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio[8] iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem

[1] Compare chaps. 2 and 11.

[2] *Invidiae* must be connected with *quid*.

[3] Many senators favoured Catiline, and to them Cicero here alludes.

[4] 'Indulgent,' or 'mild judgments.'

[5] *Regie*, 'tyrannically,' 'in an anti-republican spirit.' The Romans hated the very name of *rex*, and they considered it as synonymous with *tyrannus* when it had reference to Rome.

[6] *Naufragus* here signifies 'a bankrupt.' Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 14.

[7] Namely, ever since the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Volcatius Tullus, B.C. 66; that is, for the last three years; whence, afterwards, Cicero uses the expression *veteris furoris*. Comp. Cic. *pro Muren.*, § 81.

[8] *Latrocinium* here signifies 'a band of highway robbers.'

residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod saepe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani,[1] obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, Patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute et cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, profisciscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Juppiter, qui iisdem, quibus haec urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus,[2] quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium [omnium] arcebis: et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

[1] The praetor urbanus had to decide in disputes between Roman citizens. The praetor here alluded to is L. Valerius Flaccus, who was dreaded by those *naufragi* on account of his strict justice.

[2] See Livy, i. 12, and above, chap. 1. Cicero addresses these last words to the statue of the god.

IN L. CATILINAM SECUNDA

AD QUIRITES ORATIO.

TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem[1] verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera[2] nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est,[3] cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediente, bellum justum[4] geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratusque est et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit et retorquet[5] oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget; quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecerit.

2. At si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, qui

[1] 'As he was already going of his own accord.' Respecting *minitantem*, see Sallust, *Cat.* 43.

[2] Compare Cic. *in Catil.* i. 6, and Sallust, *Cat.* 28.

[3] The expression *loco motus est* was used of a gladiator, and Catiline has been called a gladiator in the first speech, chap. 12. He has been thrust out of his favourable position in the heart of Rome.

[4] *Bellum justum*, the opposite of *latrocinium*, as Cicero elsewhere (*in Catil.* i. 10, *in fin.*) calls it.

[5] Like a lion, or rather like a wolf.

in hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio affectum jampridem oportebat: idque a me et mos majorum et hujus imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui, quae ego deferrem,[1] non crederent? [quam multos,[2] qui propter stultitiam non putarent?] quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? [quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent?] Ac si, illo sublato, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae[3] periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum[4] probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus[5] exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta[6] [calumnia] coeperat; Publicium et Munatium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum[7] afferre poterat: reliquit quos viros![8] quanto aere alieno! quam valentes! quam nobiles!

[1] Supply *ad senatum*, 'report to the senate.' The *mos majorum* has been explained *in Catil.*, i. 2.

[2] *Quam multos:* that is, *satis multos.* The words printed in brackets can at least be well translated, and do not disturb the course of ideas.

[3] Cicero here plays with the words *invidiae* and *vitae.* *Invidia* is, 'hatred against me.'

[4] Namely, when, by a decree of the senate, full power was given to punish the criminals. Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 29 and 48.

[5] *Comitatus* is here used in a passive sense, 'accompanied by only a few.' Sallust (*Cat.* 32) says, *cum paucis;* but other writers mention 300 companions.

[6] The *toga praetexta*, with a broad purple stripe in front, was worn by magistrates and priests as an honorary distinction, and by boys up to their seventeenth year as an ornament.

[7] Because debts contracted by drinking in taverns were small, and could not easily affect the republic.

[8] The most influential men were afraid of being seen with Catiline; they are the same whom Cicero, in the first speech (chap. 12), *describes by the* word *dissimulent.*

3. Itaque ego illum exercitum et Gallicanis legionibus[1] et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus[2] habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis,[3] ex agresti luxuria,[4] ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere[5] quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire; qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura,[6] mallem secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui[7] sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis[8] atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die;[9] Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? Nae illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

4. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videretis. Nisi vero[10] si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum

[1] *Gallicanae legiones* are Roman legions stationed in Gaul. *Ager Gallicus* refers to the district south of the Po; it is the *ager Gallicus Cispadanus*.

[2] Q. Metellus Celer, who was then praetor, had been sent by the senate into Picenum, with the power to collect troops in proportion to his wants. See Sallust, *Cat.* 30; Cic. *pro Sulla*, 19.

[3] Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 11, and Sallust, *Cat.* 37.

[4] That is, *agrestibus luxuriosis*.

[5] 'Not to keep the term, fixed in court, in a case of debt.' The punishment for this offence was *infamia*, and the creditor had the right forthwith to take possession of the debtor's property.

[6] The senators wore an under-dress with a broad hem; the equites a similar one floating down from the neck to the feet with a smaller hem (*tunica laticlava* and *angusticlava*).

[7] This, as well as the other persons, are named by Sallust, *Cat.* 27.

[8] The word *caedes* alludes to Cethegus, the *incendia* to Gabinius and Statilius. See Sallust, *Cat.* 43.

[9] Namely, by my first speech against Catiline.

[10] 'Unless, indeed, there be any one,' is said ironically.

Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant,[1] proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via[2] profectus est. Si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno, mehercule, Catilina exhausto relevata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector,[3] quis circumscriptor,[4] quis ganeo, quis nepos,[5] quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam vero quae tanta unquam in ullo homine juventutis illecebra[6] fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo non modo Romae, sed [nec] ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus adsciverit.

5. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione[7] perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur; nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen stuprorum

[1] To this and the following verbs supply *Catilinae similes;* that is, *conjurati.*

[2] The Aurelian road led to the north of Etruria, where Mallius had his camp and army; see *in Cat.*, i. 2 and 9.

[3] 'A forger of wills;' Sallust (*Cat.* 16) similarly says, *signator falsus.*

[4] 'A false interpreter of wills.'

[5] *Nepos*, 'a prodigal;' probably because boys brought up by their grand-parents usually turned out to be licentious and extravagant young men.

[6] This is only a variation of what was said in *in Cat.* i. 6.

[7] 'In his unequal (varied) mode of life.' Cicero afterwards calls *Catiline both a gladiator* and an actor.

et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus frigori et fami et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia[1] atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites:[2] si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges: O nos beatos, O rem publicam fortunatam, O praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae audaciae ac tolerandae: nihil cogitant nisi caedes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonia sua profuderunt: fortunas suas obligaverunt: res[3] eos jampridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes[4] in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti,[5] unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam jamdiu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare jam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa secula propagarit[6] rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus; nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia

[1] *Subsidia* are the things just mentioned; namely, *frigus*, *fames*, *sitis*, *vigiliae*.

[2] Namely, those also who still remained at Rome; *sui* is used on account of the preceding *hunc*.

[3] *Res* are 'means,' or property; *fides*, 'credit.' Comp. *in Cat.*, i. 6.

[4] The Romans, like the Greeks, when taking meals, reclined on a couch, usually three persons on one couch, so that the legs of the second and third lay behind the bodies of the first and second; they usually leant upon the left elbow, taking with the right hand the food set out on the table before them (*triclinium*).

[5] The Romans, at their repasts, adorned themselves with wreaths of flowers (myrtle, ivy, lilies, roses), partly on account of their fragrance, partly for the sake of cooling themselves; they also anointed their hair with fragrant ointments (*unguentis obliti*).

[6] *Propagarit*, the same as *prorogarit*, 'to secure duration;' when I destroy the Catilinarians, I shall secure to the republic an incalculable duration.

sunt externa unius[1] virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet; intus insidiae sunt; intus inclusum periculum est; intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quae sanari poterunt, quacunque ratione sanabo: quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea, quae merentur, exspectent.

6. At etiam sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exilium jussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die,[2] cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Jovis Statoris convocavi; rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat,[3] nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exilium ejicio, quaesivi a Catilina,[4] nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte[5] egisset, quid proxima constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius bella descripta, edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jampridem pararet: cum arma, cum

[1] That is, of Pompey, who had recently brought to a close the war against Mithridates also. See *pro Leg. Manil.*

[2] Comp. *in Cat.*, i. 4: *illam superiorem noctem.* Cicero here evidently alludes to the same point of time, so that *hesterno die* must be taken in the same sense as *superiore die*, unless we prefer allowing Cicero a slight inaccuracy, which may be excused by his excitement in delivering the speech.

[3] Namely, as praetor, Catiline sat next to the consulars (see *in Cat.*, i. 7), whom Cicero calls *principes ejus ordinis;* that is, *senatus.*

[4] See *in Cat.*, i. 4.

[5] That is, *superiore nocte.* Comp. *in Cat.*, i. 1. *Proxima;* that is, the *night between* the 7th and 8th of November.

secures, cum fasces,[1] cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam[2] illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Mallius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit; et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant et ille ejectus in exilium se Massiliam,[3] ut aiunt,[4] non in haec castra conferet.

7. O condicionem miseram, non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc, si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis[5] meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque in exilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus,[6] innocens, in exilium ejectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. Est mihi tanti,[7] Quirites, hujus invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiatis; sed triduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum

[1] Catiline had taken the *fasces*, the insignia of consular power, with him into the camp of Mallius.

[2] See *in Cat.*, i. 9.

[3] Massilia (Marseilles), a colony of the city of Phocaea (in Asia Minor), in Gallia Narbonensis, and ever since the Punic Wars a faithful ally of Rome. Many exiled persons chose Massilia for their place of residence.

[4] Namely, the friends of Catiline, or other credulous persons.

[5] *Pericula* here are dangerous measures (against Catiline).

[6] 'Condemned without a judicial verdict,' 'without a trial.' According to the laws of the Twelve Tables, a Roman citizen could not be exiled without a judicial verdict.

[7] Respecting *tanti*, see *in Cat.* i. 9.

aliquando, quod illum emiserim[1] potius, quam quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus[2] sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti,[3] qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur, quam verentur.[4] Nemo est istorum tam misericors,[5] qui illum non ad Mallium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod agit, nunquam ante cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem[6] se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur.[7]

8. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae; neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno majores etiam possessiones[8] habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi[9] nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima; sunt enim locupletes: voluntas vero et causa impudentissima.

[1] Cicero in his first speech had given Catiline only his pressing advice to quit Rome.

[2] Observe the antithesis between *profectus* and *interfectus*, two words with a similar sound.

[3] That is, the secret friends of Catiline, and enemies of their country.

[4] Because by his exile their common designs would be thwarted.

[5] They do not wish that Catiline, by a voluntary exile, should assume the appearance of innocence.

[6] As he cannot live without having recourse to robberies. *Quod agit* alludes to his making war against his country.

[7] Supply, 'if he should go into exile, which he will not.'

[8] *Possessiones* are 'estates,' 'property in land,' and also 'property' in general. Otherwise a distinction is made between *praedia*, estates in Italy and the provinces which had the *jus Italicum*, and *possessiones*, lands in other parts of the empire, as Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* i. 11, correctly expresses it: *qui trans Rhodanum possessiones habent.*

[9] *Dissolvi*, 'to separate,' 'to part from.'

Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia,[1] tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere,[2] acquirere ad fidem ?[3] Quid enim exspectas ? Bellum ? Quid ? Ergo in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas ? An tabulas novas ?[4] Errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant. Meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae.[5] Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi[6] esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent, neque (id quod stultissimum est) certare[7] cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

9. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem[8] tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: primum omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas praeterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim

[1] *Familia;* that is, *famulis, servis;* just as in chap. 9 we read *familiis magnis.*

[2] Namely, by a complete or partial sale.

[3] 'To procure money for the purpose of maintaining thy credit.'

[4] *Tabulae novae,* 'cancelling of debts.' The tables (accounts, returns) to be laid before the censor contained a man's income, his expenditure, his debts, as well as his outstanding money. By a verdict of the praetor the *tabulae* of a person very deeply involved in debt might be changed, reduced, or even completely annulled. According to Sallust, *Cat.* 21, Catiline had promised his followers *tabulae novae,* or a cancelling of all their debts.

[5] Supply *tabulae;* namely, placards attached to some pillar in a public place, and containing a list of the goods of a common debtor which were to be sold by auction. The expression here is ironical.

[6] In no other way can they get rid of their debts.

[7] 'To struggle with the income;' that is, 'to strive to pay the interest on one's debts with one's income,' which in the case here assumed is impossible.

[8] See below: *consules se aut dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros.* Compare also Sallust, *Cat.* 21.

sceleris praesentes auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupierunt, consules se aut dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori[1] concedi sit necesse? Tertium genus est aetate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Mallius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Faesulis Sulla[2] constituit; quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum aedificant, tamquam beati, dum praediis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. Qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, homines tenues atque egentes, in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum[3] impulerunt; quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones[4] et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

10. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; qui jampridem premuntur, qui nunquam emergunt;[5] qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant; qui vadimoniis,[6] judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati,

[1] Alludes to Catiline.

[2] The dictator Sulla had rewarded his soldiers by establishing whole legions in Italian towns, such as Faesulae, Capua, and others, whose citizens were obliged to give up their property to the soldiers. These were the military colonies of Sulla, of which there were twenty-three. The word Faesulae ought perhaps to be omitted, as all the military colonies of Sulla are meant. The soldiers, who thus became suddenly rich, usually squandered their property in a very short time. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 11.

[3] Namely, such as had been committed during the establishment of those colonies under Sulla.

[4] During the proscription instituted by Sulla in B.C. 82, 4700 persons are calculated to have been proscribed.

[5] Namely, *ex aere alieno.*

[6] When a surety or the debtor himself did not appear when summoned by the creditor, there was pronounced against him a verdict

permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quam infitiatores lentos[1] esse arbitror. Qui homines primum si stare non possunt, corruant:[2] sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum; quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt, et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque via, quod proprium Catilinae est, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu;[3] quos pexo capillo, nitidos aut imberbes aut bene barbatos[4] videtis, manicatis[5] et talaribus tunicis, velis[6] amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis coenis[7] expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et psallere, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt; qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Verumtamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt,

(*judicium*), by which the creditor was empowered to take possession of the debtor's property. If within thirty days after this the debtor did not make his appearance, his property was proscribed, and sold by public auction.

[1] Because they deceive their creditors from day to day by false pretences, and other cunning contrivances.

[2] 'May they break down,' 'become bankrupt.' This is the *medicina consilii* promised in chap. 8.

[3] 'His darlings and bosom friends.'

[4] 'With neat little beards.' The custom of shaving the beard had been introduced at Rome in B.C. 300 by Sicilian barbers. After that time some young dandies allowed their beards to grow, but older persons never did.

[5] 'With tunics with sleeves, and floating down to the ankles.' Such a kind of dress was considered disgraceful to a Roman.

[6] *Vela* are wide garments with large folds, and were likewise considered to be a sign of effeminacy.

[7] 'Repasts which lasted till sunrise,' as opposed to *convivia tempestiva*; see *pro Arch.* 6.

his praesertim jam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Apenninum[1] atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare[2] didicerunt.

11. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus; et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde contra illam naufragorum[3] ejectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum[4] ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus.[5] Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate[6] conferre debeo. Sed, si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis, causas ipsas, quae inter se confligunt, contendere velimus: ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc scelus: hinc constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo: hinc continentia, illinc libido: denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus: postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In hujusmodi certamine ac proelio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales

[1] Mallius's camp was near the Apennines.

[2] Dancing was considered degrading to a free-born Roman. See *pro Reg. Deiot.* 9.

[3] Compare *in Cat.*, i. 12.

[4] *Urbes coloniarum;* that is, *coloniae.* They had the Roman law, and elected their magistrates themselves. The *municipia* were still more privileged, for they had the Roman law, elected their own magistrates, and had the Roman franchise (*municipia cum suffragio*); or they had their own laws, and then were eligible only to military offices (*municipia sine suffragio*).

[5] In opposition to the towns which furnish better camps.

[6] *Compare* Sallust, *Cat.* 56.

cogent ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

12. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione[1] Catilinae facile urbes suas finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam meliore animo sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur.[2] Q. Metellus,[3] quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut ejus omnes motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.[4]

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrûm in urbe a Catilina relicti sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae: si qui exire volunt, connivere possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

13. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maxima minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce[5] et imperatore

[1] Namely, of last night; see Sallust, *Cat.* 32.

[2] The gladiators, in order to be made harmless, were sent to Capua, and other municipia. Sallust, *Cat.* 30.

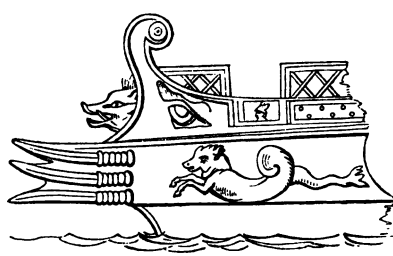
[3] About Q. Metellus, see above, chap. 3.

[4] Which has just been convened, and is now assembling.

[5] 'Under my command in the garment of peace;' that is, without quitting Rome as consul at the head of an army.

sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus,[1] quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui jam non procul, ut quondam[2] solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes[3] suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt; quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari [atque] implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

[1] *Significationes* are here 'wonderful signs.'
[2] In earlier and foreign wars.
[3] *Praesentes*, with reference to Jupiter Stator and his temple.



IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO TERTIA

AD QUIRITES.

REM publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrûm, bona, fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium[1] clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem hodierno die[2] deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus,[3] consiliis, periculis meis ex flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur,[4] quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio,[5] et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate[6] servamur, profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit.[7] Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus iidemque gladios in rem publicam destrictos retudimus mucronesque eorûm a jugulis vestris dejecimus. Quae quoniam in senatu[8] illus-

[1] That is, *Romam*.

[2] Cicero delivered this speech on the 3d of December.

[3] See *in Cat.* ii. 7.

[4] 'On which some good fortune happens to us;' or 'on which we are saved from some imminent misfortune.' The Romans used to celebrate such days in the same manner as their birthdays.

[5] 'The condition of birth is uncertain.' The antithesis here seems to be incorrect, and to have scarcely any meaning. No one surely will rejoice less at his birthday because his birth was uncertain and accidental. The next reason—*et quod sine*, &c.—is equally oratorical and untrue.

[6] 'With a conscious delight.'

[7] The apodosis here contains the application of what is stated in the protasis in the form of an illustration: we surely owe gratitude to the saviour of Rome, if we worship its founder as a god.

[8] Shortly before, Cicero had made a report to the senate concerning Catiline and his associates.

trata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis, ex actis[1] scire possitis.

Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus[2] erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

2. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit), sed tum,[3] cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maxime furore et scelere esse inflammatos[4] sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem[5] fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis[6] saluti vestrae provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi[7] legatos Allobrogum[8] belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa[9] a P. Lentulo[10] esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere[11] cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum

[1] *Ex actis*, 'from what has been done,' or 'laid before the senate.'

[2] Twenty-three days before; see *in Cat.* ii. 1.

[3] *Sed tum*, equivalent to *tum, inquam,—sed* taking up the narrative interrupted by the parenthesis.

[4] Namely, as they have been described in *in Cat.* ii. 10.

[5] *Minorem*, 'too little;' namely, in comparison with the greatness of the crime.

[6] *Animis*, 'with all your soul,' or 'with zeal,' forms antithesis to *oculis*.

[7] Namely, through Q. Fabius Sanga; see Sallust, *Cat.* 41.

[8] The Allobroges were a Gallic tribe between the Alps, the Rhone, and the Lake of Geneva. Their ambassadors had come to Rome to complain of the oppression and rapacity of their rulers. See Sallust, *Cat.* 40.

[9] 'To stir up a war on the northern and southern side of the Alps.'

[10] P. Lentulus, praetor under Cicero, was a vicious and ambitious person.

[11] *The ambassadors*, on their return to Gaul, were to go to Catiline.

T. Volturcium[1] atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam a diis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum[2] et C. Pomptinum,[3] praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi; rem omnem exposui; quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium[4] pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspicione multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego ex praefectura Reatina[5] complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in re publica, praesidio cum gladiis miseram. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta,[6] cum jam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res erat praetoribus nota solis; ignorabatur a ceteris.

3. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecunque erant in eo comitatu integris signis[7] praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi

[1] T. Volturcius was of Croton in Lucania, but he is otherwise unknown. Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 44.

[2] L. Flaccus was on one occasion defended by Cicero in a speech which is still extant.

[3] C. Pomptinus was afterwards Cicero's legate in Cilicia. See Sallust, *Cat.* 45.

[4] This bridge, now called Ponte Molle, was about 3000 paces from Rome, on the Flaminian road, leading across the Tiber into Etruria.

[5] 'From the Sabine town of Reate' (now Rieti). *Praefecturae* were towns entirely dependant on Rome; they were governed by a Roman praetor or praefectus, and did not enjoy the rights of colonies or municipia. The people of Reate were clients of Cicero.

[6] That is, at three o'clock in the morning. The night beginning at six in the afternoon, and extending to six in the morning, was divided into four parts, called *vigiliae*.

[7] The Romans used to surround and fasten together with thread the letters, consisting of tablets of maple-wood or ivory covered over with a coat of wax, in which the writing was engraved with a pointed instrument (*stilus*). The ends of the thread were covered with clay or wax, upon which they impressed their seal with the signet-ring which they wore on the left hand.

ad me, cum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium[1] statim ad me nihil dum suspicantem vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur L. Statilius et post eum [C.] Cethegus. Tardissime autem Lentulus[2] venit, credo quod in litteris his dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilaverat.[3] Cum vero summis et clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum referri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi.[4] Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

4. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis;[5] fidem ei publicam jussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum, ut ea, quae sciret, sine metu indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum[6] praesidio uteretur et ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet: id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus,[7] quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus[8] conjungeret. Introducti

[1] See Sallust, *Cat.* 17, who says, *ex equestri ordine Gabinius Capito.* Respecting Cethegus, see Sallust, *Cat.* 17, and especially 43.

[2] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura was consul in B.C. 71, and in Cicero's consulship he was praetor. See above, chap. 2, and Sallust, *Cat.* 55.

[3] To be taken ironically, Lentulus being described as a lazy person. See chap. 7.

[4] *Senatum—coëgi;* namely, in the temple of Concord, on the side of the Capitoline Hill; Sallust, *Cat.* 49.

[5] *Gallis,* equivalent to *legatis Gallorum.*

[6] See Sallust, *Cat.* 44, and below, chap. 5, where they are called *infimi.*

[7] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 43.

[8] These *duces* are mentioned immediately below. Compare Sallust, *Cat. 43 foll.* and 17.

autem Galli jusjurandum sibi et litteras a Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio[1] esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis[2] haruspicumque[3] responsis esse se tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse; eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post Virginum absolutionem,[4] post Capitolii autem incensionem[5] vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis caedem Saturnalibus[6] fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum[7] videretur.

5. Ac, ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas[8] proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum;[9] cognovit. Nos linum incidimus; legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, quae eorum legatis confirmasset, facturum esse: orare,

[1] L. Cassius Longinus had been a competitor of Cicero in his suit for the consulship. See below, chap. 6, and Sallust, *Cat.* 17.

[2] Tarquinius Superbus is said to have bought the books of the Erythraean Sibyl, believing that in them he should find the fortunes of Rome foretold. They were afterwards kept in a stone chest in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Sulla appointed fifteen men to keep these books and consult them on all important emergencies. During the conflagration of the Capitol in B.C. 83, they were destroyed, but they were restored from what men recollected of the Sibylline oracles.

[3] The art of the *haruspices* (inspectors of the victims) was believed to have been introduced at Rome by Romulus.

[4] Namely, of the Vestal Virgins, who were acquitted of the charge of being guilty of unchastity. The occurrence here alluded to is not otherwise known.

[5] This conflagration of the Capitol (see above) is said to have arisen from the carelessness of the guards; its restoration was completed by Norbanus, in B. C. 78.

[6] The Saturnalia was a joyous festival, at which the Romans made presents to one another; it fell on the 19th of December, but in later times it commenced on the 17th, and lasted for three days. The festival was of such a nature, that, during its celebration, the Romans would think of anything rather than of a conspiracy or the outbreak of an insurrection.

[7] There would still have been a fortnight until the Saturnalia.

[8] *Tabellae*, equivalent to *litterae*. See Sallust, *Cat.* 46.

[9] See above, chap. 3.

ut item illi facerent, quae sibi eorum legati recepissent.[1] Tum Cethegus, qui paullo ante aliquid tamen[2] de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensae, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Annuit.—'Est vero,' inquam, 'notum signum, imago avi tui,[3] clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos: quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.' Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem.[4] Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit;[5] quaesivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis; quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem[6] ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset, ostendit. Nam, cum id posset infitiari, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit,[7] sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem scriptae sine nomine, sed ita: *Qui sim,*[8] *scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis, et cogita quem in locum sis progressus, et vide*

[1] *Recepissent* has the same meaning as the preceding *confirmasset.*

[2] *Tamen* here has the meaning of 'however,' and is ironical.

[3] His grandfather was P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul in B.C. 162.

[4] That is, *veniam* or *facultatem dedi.*

[5] Namely, for the purpose of speaking, as was customary.

[6] Namely, through P. Umbrenus. See Sallust, *Cat.* 40.

[7] In other places, Cicero describes him as having rather a *tardum ingenium.*

[8] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 44, who quotes this letter in a somewhat *different form.* Cicero seems to have kept more closely to the very *words of the letter.*

quid jam tibi sit necesse. Et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum.[1] Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris tabellae, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed ipsi a se viderentur.

6. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus[2] acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum[3] senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus, praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur: atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo,[4] laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset,[5] in custodiam traderetur: atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat: in M. Caeparium,[6] cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam erat indi-

[1] That is, *servorum.*

[2] *Principes* here seems to be equivalent to *senatores*, though properly the *principes* in the senate were the consulars, the consuls elect, and practors, who were first asked to state their opinions. A decree of the senate was formed by the majority, without the tribunes having the right of opposing it. *Sine ulla varietate*, 'unanimously.'

[3] The decrees of the senate were engraved on brass tables, and deposited in the archives.

[4] That is, *M. Antonio*, who secretly favoured the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sallust, *Cat.* 21); hence *removisset*, he had kept them at a distance, and had not exactly communicated to them the decrees of the senate, though otherwise, on account of his debts, he would not have opposed a violent revolution.

[5] Before a magistrate could be brought to trial, it was necessary that he should resign his office.

[6] See Sallust, *Cat.* 46. Respecting P. Furius, *ibid* 50, and for the colonies here mentioned, *in Cat.* ii. 9.

catum: in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit: in Q. Manlium Chilonem,[1] qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus: in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem[2] hominum perditissimorum poena, re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio diis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, Quirites; quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato[3] contigit: et his decreta verbis est, QUOD URBEM INCENDIIS, CAEDE CIVES, ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, Quirites, hoc intersit,[4] quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactus indiciis et confessionibus suis, judicio senatus non modo praetoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit: ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam,[5] de quo nihil nominatim[6] erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato[7] P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

7. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum,[8]

[1] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 17, who mentions one Q. Annius.

[2] A different account is given by Sallust, *Cat.* 55, and by Cic. *pro Sull.* 11, where only five are mentioned.

[3] 'In the dress of peace.'

[4] *Intersit* is a rather modest expression for *interest.*

[5] The event here alluded to happened in B. C. 100. C. Marius did not prevent the murder of Glaucia. See *in Cat.* i. 2.

[6] Marius being only commissioned in general terms to watch over the safety of the state.

[7] Since he had resigned his praetorship.

[8] *Somnus* here is 'sleepiness,' 'drowsiness;' *adipes*, 'laziness.' With the following description of Catiline's character, which in this place seems to be a rhetorical repetition, compare Sallust, *Cat.* 5.

nec L. Cassii adipes, nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum moenibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat; jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites), non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque tanto ante[1] exitii ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset nec commisisset, ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur.[2] Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec in tota re publica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam,[3] dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos unquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

8. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii[4] tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. Nam, ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terrae motus ceteraque, quae tam multa nobis con-

[1] *Ante*, the same as *antea*.

[2] Catiline would have acted more prudently and quickly than his associates, who are now apprehended and convicted.

[3] 'To use the mildest expression.'

[4] The words *humani consilii* belong to *esse*, to which they form the predicate. The Romans, like the Greeks, were very superstitious, and loved to hear of wondrous signs and divine voices.

sulibus facta sunt, ut haec,[1] quae nunc fiunt, canere[2] dii immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato[3] consulibus complures in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum immortalium depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum dejectae et legum aera[4] liquefacta; tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum[5] in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria[6] convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum responsis tunc et ludi[7] per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: iidemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere majus et in excelso collocare et, contra atque ante fuerat, ad orientem[8] convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud signum ita collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta

[1] *Ut haec* must be connected with *tam multa facta sunt.*

[2] *Canere*, 'to announce,' is a more solemn expression than any other verb of saying.

[3] These two were consuls in B.C. 65.

[4] The twelve brass tables on which the laws were inscribed were in all probability set up in the Comitium, the eastern part of the Forum: whether they were destroyed in the sacking of Rome by the Gauls (B.C. 390) is unknown. The *legum aera* here mentioned are later law-tables, which were kept especially in and about the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, but also in other places. They were intrusted to the protection of the public. There did not exist any general and official code of laws, nor were there any particular superintendents.

[5] This statue was of bronze, representing the infant Romulus sucking a she-wolf.

[6] Etruria was the country from which the art of the *haruspices* had been introduced into Rome. The Etruscans were as superstitious as the Romans. Compare above, chap. 4.

[7] Games and contests, to honour and propitiate the angry gods.

[8] The Capitoline Hill lay west of the Forum. The above-mentioned *ab occidente faces*, or 'fiery signs in the west,' were seen in the direction of Etruria, where Catiline afterwards acted as an open rebel.

fuit operis tarditas, ut neque a superioribus consulibus[1] neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem[2] collocaretur.

9. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia interitumque rei publicae comparari, et ea per cives, quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso omnia et senatus et vos, quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam[3] et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Juppiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi atque ad haec tanta indicia perveni. Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio[4] sic a P. Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tanta res credita et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque litterae nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium[5] esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata,[6] quae gens una restat, quae bellum populo Romano facere et posse et non nolle[7] videatur, spem imperii

[1] That is, L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus, B.C. 64.

[2] That is, 'just now,' at this time of the discovery, as Cicero himself elsewhere expresses it—*eo ipso tempore, quo fieret indicium conjurationis in senatu, signum Jovis biennio post, quam erat locatum, in Capitolio collocabatur.* See below, chap. 9.

[3] *Sumam* and *sim* are used in the same way as *intersit* in chap. 6.

[4] See Sallust, *Cat.* 40, foll.

[5] *Consilium* here is 'prudence,' 'foresight.'

[6] 'A state not yet quite reduced to obedience.' The praetor, C. Pomptinus, however, subdued the rebellious Allobroges in B.C. 61.

[7] *Non nolle* is very emphatic for *velle.*

ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis[1] hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis? praesertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo[2] superare potuerunt.

10. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria[3] supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati[4] me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis: L. Sulla P. Sulpicium[5] oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius,[6] consul, armis expulit ex urbe collegam suum; omnis hic locus[7] acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit [postea] Cinna cum Mario. Tum vero clarissimis viris interfectis lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla;[8] ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus[9] a

[1] There were many patricians among the conspirators—as Lentulus, Cethegus, and others.

[2] 'By a secret understanding with the conspirators.'

[3] That is, *ad omnia templa*. Benches covered with cushions were placed before the altars or special tables, and the statues of the gods were laid upon them, as if they were to take part in person in the repasts prepared for them.

[4] See above, chap. 6.

[5] At the time when Sulla was on the point of setting out against Mithridates, but was still tarrying at Nola in Campania, the tribune P. Sulpicius proposed to send Marius against Mithridates. Sulla then returned to Rome, Sulpicius was killed, and Marius fled to Africa, B.C. 88.

[6] Cn. Octavius, consul in B.C. 87, expelled his colleague Cornelius Cinna from Rome; but in the year following, when Cinna and Marius, who was recalled from Africa, had taken possession of the city, he was murdered while defending the Vatican.

[7] That is, the Forum.

[8] On his return from the Mithridatic War in B.C. 82; the number of the proscribed and slain was enormous.

[9] M. Lepidus, consul in B.C. 78, was involved in a quarrel with his colleague Catulus, a partisan of Sulla, because he (Lepidus) wanted

clarissimo ac fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo. Attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum, quam ceterorum. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones erant ejusmodi, Quirites, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam[1] rem publicam pertinerent; non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quae esset, se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicae quaesivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecione civium dijudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello,[2] quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego et Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini; et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum esse putassent, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

11. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo praeterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejusmodi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero aeternam fore et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatam unoque tempore

to abolish many of the enactments of Sulla, and refused to allow his body to be buried in the Campus Martius. Lepidus soon after died in Corsica, whither he had fled. The following *ipsius* refers to Lepidus.

[1] 'To a change,' 'to a reform.' This smoothing over those occurrences is almost too rhetorical, if we consider that, besides the *lumina* of the state, nearly 150,000 citizens perished in the wars of Sulla.

[2] The word *bellum* is here used rhetorically, for matters had not yet come to open war or bloodshed.

in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter[1] fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

12. Sed, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque condicio, quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt: quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris recte facta sua prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant,[2] vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna in re publica dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet; magna vis conscientiae, quam qui negligent, cum me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitae fructum possit acquiri, praesertim cum neque in honore vestro neque in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus[3] tuear atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deinde ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper, quae gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est,[4] veneramini

[1] That is, Cn. Pompey, who had at this time gained the most brilliant victories over Mithridates in the distant East, over the pirates, the Syrians, &c.

[2] The subsequent exile of Cicero was actually the work of men who hated him on account of his having discovered and suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy.

[3] That is, as *vir consularis*, and member of the senate.

[4] The present speech, as is seen from this passage, was delivered *towards the evening*.

illum Jovem,[1] custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen aeque ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

[1] Namely, *Statorem*, whose temple was visible from every part of the city.

IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO QUARTA

HABITA IN SENATU.

VIDEO, Patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrûm ora atque oculos esse conversos. Video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis[1] et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! deponite[2] atque obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si haec condicio[3] consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur. Ego sum ille consul, Patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur,[4] non campus[5] consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia,[6] summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus,[7] commune perfugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris, sella curulis,[8] unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa con-

[1] To *in malis* supply *rei publicae*. *In dolore*, 'in the grief which I feel at the misfortunes of the republic.' *Voluntas*, 'good-will,' or 'good wishes.' *Jucundus*, 'agreeable,' 'pleasing,' 'causing joy;' whereas *gratus* signifies 'deserving gratitude.'

[2] *Deponite*, equivalent to *praetermittite*.

[3] That is, *si hac condicione consulatus datus est*.

[4] 'Where justice is always fairly administered.'

[5] Namely, *Martius*. The comitia for electing consuls were held in the Campus Martius, after the auspices had been consulted.

[6] The *curia Hostilia*, in which the meetings of the senate were usually held, is called *summum auxilium*, because the fate of the subject nations was decided in it.

[7] The house of a Roman was inviolable: no one was allowed to enter it, even for the purpose of summoning the inhabitant before a court of justice, and it was necessary to find him out of his house.

[8] The *sella curulis* was used only by the consuls, praetors, curule aediles, and censors; the other senators sat on benches.

cessi, multa meo quodam dolore[1] in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, Patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, conjuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrûm ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur.[2] Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus,[3] fatale ad perniciem populi Romani fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicae prope fatalem exstitisse?

2. Quare, Patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite, mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident,[4] pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relaturos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit,[5] aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari[6] nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris[7] carissimi et amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear

[1] 'With a kind of grief on my part,' because you could not duly appreciate the greatness of the danger.

[2] *Subeatur* is stronger than *subibo*.

[3] Comp. above *in Cat.* iii., 4.

[4] Rome, like every other city, had its tutelary divinities, who, according to the popular belief, might be induced by hostile priests to quit the place. In order to prevent this, the statues were often fastened with iron chains, or by means of molten lead. Hence an enemy, in besieging a place, tried to entice the gods to come out before taking the town; but perhaps also with the view not to make the gods captives. With reference to Rome, we must remember especially Jupiter Stator and Vesta.

[5] *Obtigerit* here has the meaning of *acciderit*.

[6] Because a consular had already been invested with the highest dignity, and was no longer a young man; a person not being eligible to the consulship before his forty-third year.

[7] Cicero enumerates his whole family: his brother Quintus, his wife Terentia, his son Marcus, who was then scarcely two years old, his son-in-law C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, to whom he had given his daughter Tullia in marriage, B.C. 65, and who was not yet allowed to appear in the senate, for he obtained the quaestorship two years later. Hence Cicero says of him *adstat in conspectu*, 'he stands within sight,' anxiously awaiting the result of our deliberations.

horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abjecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei; neque ille, qui exspectans hujus exitum diei adstat in conspectu meo gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus. Quare, Patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae; circumspicite omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebi fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium[1] occidit, in discrimen[2] aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt. Tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges;[3] servitia[4] excitantur; Catilina arcessitur; id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo[5] ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

3. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei[6] confessi sunt; vos multis jam judiciis judicastis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis, et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem patefactam esse decrevistis: deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret praetura, coëgistis; tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque, quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allo-

[1] C. Memmius sued for the consulship in B.C. 100, along with Glaucia. *Agrarii* were the men who hoped to obtain possessions of land through the laws of Gracchus.

[2] *Discrimen*, 'danger.'

[3] This is somewhat exaggerated, for the insurrection of the Allobroges had been prevented.

[4] *Servitia*, equivalent to *servi* or *infimi*.

[5] This is again an oratorical exaggeration; Cicero represents the matter in too dangerous a light.

[6] *Rei* here are not properly 'the accused,' but the conspirators. The *indices* are the Allobroges and Volturcius.

brogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

Sed ego institui referre ad vos, Patres conscripti, tamquam integrum[1] et de facto, quid judicetis, et de poena, quid censeatis. Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala jampridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi. Nunc, quidquid est, quocunque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem[2] est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines[3] esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quacunque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

4. Video duas adhuc esse sententias: unam D. Silani,[4] qui censet, eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Caesaris,[5] qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sui dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos

[1] 'To report a case as not yet decided upon,' 'once more to report the whole case,' not in reference to the facts, which are already established, but in order that the senate may be enabled to examine the opinions already pronounced, and come to a final decision.

[2] A decree of the senate passed after sunset was invalid; and to delay the matter would have been dangerous. Hence *ante noctem* is the same as *statim*, *confestim*, *celeriter*.

[3] *Affines* is equivalent to *participes*. *Latius opinione*, 'more widely than people believe.'

[4] D. Silanus was consul elect for the year B.C. 62; and, as such, he was asked his opinion first, as was usually the case during the last months of the year, whereas, during the first months, the *princeps senatus* expressed his opinion first. See Sallust, *Cat.* 49, 50.

[5] C. Caesar was then praetor, and is said to have been privy to the conspiracy. Most of the senators voted for the milder opinion of Caesar.—Sallust, *Cat.* 50 foll.

cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes[1] saepe etiam libenter appetiverunt. Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri[2] jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare.[3] Decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putet esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adjungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat et digna[4] scelere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum levare possit; eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona[5] praeterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus; quam si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quaedam illi antiqui[6] supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt; quod videlicet intelligebant his remotis[7] non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

5. Nunc, Patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit.[8] Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio, an amplius mihi negotii[9] contrahatur. Sed tamen

[1] Such as the Decii and Curtius, who gladly encountered death to save their country.

[2] To *dispertiri* supply *Catilinarios.*

[3] To *rogare* supply *municipia;* namely, to receive the conspirators.

[4] *Digna* refers to *municipia.*

[5] To *bona* supply *conjuratorum.*

[6] Namely, both Romans and Greeks.

[7] *Remotis* refers to *suppliciis.*

[8] *Ego—intersit,* 'what may be to my advantage;' that is, what influence the opinions just mentioned have upon me and my determination.

[9] *Amplius negotii,* equivalent to *majus periculum, major invidia.* The *auctor* is the originator, and *cognitor* the defender of an opinion. Caesar's

meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a C. Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis.[1] Intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem contionatorum[2] et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem,[3] ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori[4] gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. At vero C. Caesar intelligit legem Semproniam[5] esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis jussu populi[6] poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum largitorem[7] Lentulum et prodigum non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe tamque crudeliter cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare

opinion must have been agreeable to the Romans, because the condemned were citizens.

[1] See above, chap. 1.

[2] The thoughtless or reckless popular orators endeavour to mislead and excite the people, without paying attention to the attested facts. *Animus popularis* is, 'a mind concerned about the good of the people.'

[3] Cicero here alludes to those who were not present, in order not to be obliged to vote against Catiline and his associates. But from what follows, he seems to think of only one, though it is not known who this one was.

[4] *Quaesitores* is not to be taken literally; for the praetors were the *quaesitores* or investigators. But according to the third oration, Cicero himself also had made investigations. *Gratulationem* has the same meaning as *supplicationem*. See *in Cat.*, iii. 6.

[5] The *lex Sempronia*, enacted by C. Sempronius Gracchus, ordained that no citizen should be put to death without the command of the people, *ne injussu populi Romani civis morte multaretur*.

[6] This expression is not accurate, for C. Gracchus was killed by Opimius, in consequence of the decree of the senate, *videant consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*. The same decree had been passed in reference to Catiline. Sallust, *Cat.* 29.

[7] Lentulus had been expelled from the senate in B.C. 70; but afterwards he again found his way into it, and in Cicero's consulship he was praetor.

et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

6. Quamobrem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem[1] ad contionem[2] populo carum atque jucundum; sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvetis atque obtinebo[3] eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, Patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor (quis enim est me mitior?), sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepultam patriam, miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos adspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis.[4] Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, purpuratum[5] esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrumfamilias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem[6] virginum Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebebo. Etenim quaero, si quis paterfamilias liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo supplicium de servis[7] quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non

[1] Namely, *Caesarem popularem.*

[2] When the senate had come to a resolution, it was reported to the people.

[3] *Obtinebo*, equivalent to *probabo*, 'I shall maintain,' or 'endeavour to prove.'

[4] Compare *in Cat.* iii. 4; and for *regnantem*, see *in Cat.* iii. 4.

[5] Like the all-powerful favourites of Oriental despots.

[6] See above, chap. 1; Sallust, *Cat.* 15, 16.

[7] According to the Roman law, all the slaves of a family had to undergo punishment for the murder which one of them might have committed on his master or any member of the family.

dolore ac cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulus uniuscujusque nostrûm domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur; sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar,[1] vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem[2] et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, cum avum[3] jussu consulis interfectum filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendae rei publicae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus[4] Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum volnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica minueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severius statuisse videamini. Multo magis est verendum, ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

7. Sed ea, quae exaudio, Patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur[5] enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures

[1] L. Julius Caesar was consul in B.C. 64, together with C. Marcius Figulus.

[2] That is, the often-mentioned leader of the conspirators, P. Lentulus Sura.

[3] Alludes to M. Fulvius Flaccus (*in Cat.* i. 2), whose daughter, Fulvia, was married to L. Caesar (consul in B.C. 90), and became by him the mother of the above-mentioned L. Julius Caesar.

[4] That is, L. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul in B.C. 162 with Domitius Ahenobarbus.

[5] That is, *sparguntur rumores;* namely, by anxious friends of Cicero; just as we say, 'to throw out a hint about something.'

meas, eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis praesidii ad ea, quae vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda.[1] Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, Patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus templi[2] et loci. Causa est enim post urbem conditam haec inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem praeter eos, qui, cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis[3] consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione[4] hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa conjungit; quam si conjunctionem in consulatu confirmatam meo perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerarios,[5] fortissimos

[1] Refers to the distribution of the conspirators among the municipia, as well as to their execution.

[2] Namely, the temple of Jupiter Stator.

[3] 'To concede the precedence in rank,' for *summum ordinem et summum consilium*.

[4] That is, since the time of C. Gracchus, who transferred the *judicia* from the senate to the equites. Sulla, in B.C. 81, restored them to the senate, and ten years later, the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta (by a *lex Aurelia judiciaria*) intrusted them to the senate, the equites, and the tribuni aerarii conjointly. But the dissensions stirred up by the law of Sulla between the senate and the equites were not removed by the lex Aurelia, and after the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy they broke out again; so that this passage must be taken oratorically in this sense, that during the great and common danger all disputes of a different nature between Roman citizens ought to cease, and did cease.

[5] The *tribuni aerarii* were plebeians, who paid to the quaestors from *the treasury* the money required to pay the soldiers.

viros; scribas[1] item universos; quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum.[2] Quis est enim, cui non haec templa, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et hoc commune patriae solum cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

8. Operae pretium est, Patres conscripti, libertinorum[3] hominum studia cognoscere; qui sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis[4] consecuti vere hanc suam patriam esse judicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo nati loco[5] non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea, quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus[6] est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non haec stare[7] cupiat; qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis.[8] Quare si quem vestrûm forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est lenonem[9] quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas,[10] pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id

[1] To *scribas* supply *publicos*. These scribes were either freedmen or Roman citizens, who acted as secretaries to the magistrates, and received their pay from the aerarium. Thus we find *scribae aedilitii, praetorii, quaestorii*. According to this passage, the genuineness of which, however, is very doubtful, they happened to be at the aerarium on the nones of December, the day on which this speech was delivered, for the purpose of receiving their lot (*sors*) or pay (probably also their orders). They would, on that occasion, rather neglect receiving their pay than to be inactive during the danger of their country. Private secretaries were usually slaves.

[2] 'Of the very poorest,' *infimae sortis*.

[3] *Libertinus* is a freedman in reference to the class of persons to which he belongs, *libertus* in reference to his master who emancipated him.

[4] 'Have been rewarded for their services with the franchise.'

[5] Such as Lentulus, Cethegus, Cassius, and others.

[6] Even slaves (according to Roman notions the natural enemies of their masters) abhorred the scheme of Catiline.

[7] *Haec stare;* namely, *Romam*, or *aedificia, templa*, which we see here.

[8] *Voluntatis* depends upon *quantum*.

[9] *Lenonem;* that is, *impudicum socium, ministrum*, a contemptible tool of Lentulus, who is himself a *leno*. Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 50.

[10] *Tabernae* are shops where artists and artisans offered their works for sale, or prepared them.

quidem coeptum atque tentatum; sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditi, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, nisi vero (id enim potius est dicendum) genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis[1] minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

9. Quae cum ita sint, Patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte[2] non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis; vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis ignem illum Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnia deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros et urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis judicandum est. Habetis ducem[3] memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas[4] datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa[5] hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox paene delerit. Id ne unquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providen-

[1] As was usually done, by command of the consul, in case of disturbances or public mourning.

[2] 'Out of the very jaws of death' is an oratorical expression.

[3] Namely, *me, consulem.*

[4] To *facultas* supply *tali duce utendi.*

[5] *Civilis causa* here is 'an internal war,' in opposition to the disturbances *of* Sulla and Marius.

dum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

10. Nunc antequam, [Patres conscripti], ad sententiam[1] redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam esse turpem judico, infirmam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres conscripti, poenitebit. Etenim mors, quam mihi illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis. Sit Scipio[2] clarus ille, cujus consilio[3] atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter[4] eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas Karthaginem Numantiamque delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille,[5] cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit: sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis[6] Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriae; nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quo victores revertantur.[7]

[1] To *sententiam* supply *rogandam*, 'before I ask you for your opinion.'

[2] This is Scipio Africanus major, the conqueror of Hannibal.

[3] By his passage into Africa he compelled Hannibal to quit Italy.

[4] Namely, Scipio Aemilianus Africanus minor, the destroyer of Carthage (B. C. 146) and Numantia (B.C. 133).

[5] Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus of Macedonia at Pydna in B.C. 168.

[6] By his victory over the Teutones and Ambrones near Aquae Sextiae, in his fourth consulship (B.C. 102), and by that over the Cimbri in the Campi Raudii in B. C. 101.

[7] To *revertantur* supply *Romam;* Pompey himself is reported to have said that he owed it to Cicero that he had a place where he could triumph.

Quamquam est uno loco[1] condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium dementia aliqua depravati hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos, cum a pernicie rei publicae repulleris, nec vi coërcere nec beneficio placare possis; quare mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed [etiam] in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem[2] bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

11. Quae cum ita sint, Patres conscripti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexi,[3] pro triumpho[4] ceterisque laudis insignibus,[5] quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis[6] hospitiisque[7] provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus[8] non minore labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo, quae dum[9] erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitrabor. Quod si meam

[1] 'In one respect.'

[2] *Conspiratio* here is 'unanimity,' 'concord.'

[3] Namely, Gaul. He had given up his province of Macedonia to his colleague Antonius, in order to keep him away from the conspirators. See Sallust, *Cat.* 26.

[4] A triumph might easily be gained in a province like Macedonia.

[5] Such as *gratulationes*, *statuae*, and the like.

[6] *Clientelae* might likewise be expected in a province. Subject nations and kings usually chose a patron from among the influential families at Rome, and such a patron had to represent his clients with the Roman senate and people. Thus Cicero was the patron of the Sicilians and of Deiotarus, king of the Galatians.

[7] The Romans considered it particularly honourable to have numerous connections of hospitality in the provinces and among allied nations; the *clientela* was often the consequence of hospitality, as in the case of King Deiotarus.

[8] 'By my authority,' or 'influence here in the city.'

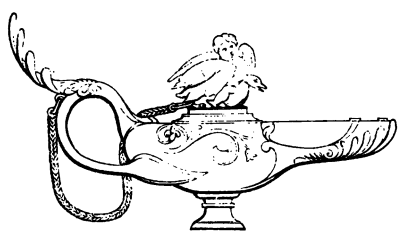
[9] *Dum*, equivalent to *quamdiu*, 'as long as.'

spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium ;[1] cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memineritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, Patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis,[2] de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea, quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum[3] praestare possit.

[1] Compare above, chap. 2.

[2] *Foci* are hearths in the atrium of a house, at which sacrifices were offered to the Lares or household gods; *arae*, altars in the yard (*aula*, *impluvium*) or court of the house, on which sacrifices were offered to the Penates, the protecting divinities of the house.

[3] 'By his own person.' *Praestare* is the same as *sustinere*, 'to maintain.'



ORATIO PRO P. SULLA.

P. CORNELIUS SULLA, who is defended in the following speech against the charge of having been an accomplice in the Catilinarian conspiracy, was a near relation of the celebrated dictator L. Sulla. He and P. Autronius Paetus had been elected consuls for the year B. C. 65, but they were compelled by their competitors, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, to give way—having been accused of bribery (*de ambitu*) by the son of Torquatus, and found guilty. In accordance with the *lex Calpurnia de ambitu*, Sulla was excluded from the senate, and had to pay a fine, but he was allowed to remain at Rome; and it is possible that at the disturbed period which directly preceded the outbreak of the Catilinarian conspiracy, he secretly took part in those revolutionary schemes. Certain it is that he was one of the number of the malcontents. Meantime the conspiracy was actually formed in the consulship of Cicero, B. C. 63, and the consul saved the republic. For the purpose of completely annihilating the enemies of the state, the senate passed a decree ordering those accomplices of Catiline who were still concealed to be hunted out and punished. (*Senatus consultum de conquirendis conjuratis.*) Encouraged by this decree, L. Torquatus, who had before come forward against Sulla with the charge of bribery, accused him of having taken an active part not only in the plan of Catiline, L. Autronius, Cn. Piso, and others, to murder the consuls Torquatus and Cotta, but also in the second conspiracy of B. C. 63. This accusation was brought forward in B. C. 62, in the consulship of D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena.

The wealthy Sulla gained over to his side many friends and supporters, such as Q. Hortensius and Cicero. The former undertook the defence of Sulla in reference to the first conspiracy of B. C. 65; while Cicero, endeavouring to refute the charge of L. Torquatus relating to the conspiracy of B.C. 63, delivered the present speech, for which, according to one account, he was rewarded with a splendid house on the Palatine. Cicero, however, was at the same time desirous to undertake the defence of Sulla, because it afforded him an opportunity of justifying his own conduct towards the Catilinarian conspirators, for L. Torquatus, the accuser, had attacked Cicero too, and found fault with his mode of acting towards the conspirators, because he had con-

victed and condemned some, and acquitted others, such as L. Sulla. Torquatus also assailed the mighty power of Cicero's eloquence.

These points form the substance of the present oration: it is divided into two parts—the defence of Sulla, and the justification of the orator himself. It once more brings before us the principal facts of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and affords some excellent points of comparison with the speeches against Catiline. Cicero speaks without reserve of his merits in having saved his country, of his unshaken patriotism and faithfulness, and of the triumphs of his eloquence, the power of which he fully maintains against L. Torquatus. The latter had called him a stranger (for Cicero was a native of the municipium of Arpinum), who, by his eloquence, exercised an undue influence at Rome; but Cicero retaliates upon him, by reminding him of his own family connexion on his mother's side, and by intimating that one man can excel another only by virtue, and not by birth, and maintains that his influence was derived from his self-control and the approval of all good citizens (chap. 1 to 12).

In the second part of the speech Cicero shows that all the points of accusation must fall to the ground; that the statements of the Allobroges do not by any means inculpate his client, they having only inquired after Sulla, but not named him as a conspirator. During that whole period, moreover, Sulla had lived in retirement at Naples, which Cicero describes as the consequence of his condemnation for bribery (chap. 13-18). The other points—the enlisting of slaves, ostensibly for the games of Faustus, and the sending of his friend Sitius to Spain—are refuted by the statement that Sulla had obtained those gladiators by the will of his father, and that he had ordered Bellus, a freedman of Faustus, to arm them long before the time of the conspiracy. The journey of his friend Sitius also belonged to an earlier period. The charge, moreover, that Sulla intended to stir up the Pompeians to an insurrection, is refuted by Cicero, by referring to the attachment of all Pompeians to Sulla, to their presence at the trial, and to their endeavours to obtain his acquittal (chap. 19-21). But what Cicero lays most stress on, is the previous life of Sulla, compared with that of a Catiline, a P. Lentulus, or an Autronius; and here Cicero, with brilliant eloquence, sets forth the contrasts in a most striking manner. The supplications of the most important and worthy men on behalf of Sulla speak no less in favour of the accused. The orator lastly swears by the gods that he has spoken truly, and according to his conviction, and that he has concealed nothing. He then recommends Sulla, who had been crushed by his previous condemnation, and had been cast down from the highest point of good fortune and civil distinction, to the reanimating mildness of his judges.

Cicero obtained the acquittal of his client, although he was not able to deny certain points which seriously implicated Sulla. The great orator, however, earned little gratitude from his client, as in so many other cases in which he had afforded his aid and support to un-

worthy persons. Sulla's life was not so pure as we might infer from the eloquence of his defender. He was particularly avaricious; even during the proscriptions of the dictator Sulla, he had contrived to enrich himself, and afterwards, with the same object in view, he joined the party of Caesar, and soon became quite estranged from Cicero.

MAXIME vellem, judices, ut P. Sulla et antea dignitatis suae splendorem obtinere[1] et post calamitatem acceptam modestiae fructum[2] aliquem potuisset percipere. Sed quoniam ita tulit casus infestus, ut amplissimo [in] honore cum communi ambitionis[3] invidia, tum singulari Autronii odio[4] everteretur, et in his pristinae fortunae reliquiis miseris et afflictis tamen haberet quosdam,[5] quorum animos ne supplicio quidem suo satiare posset; quamquam ex hujus incommodis magnam animo molestiam capio, tamen in ceteris malis facile patior oblatum mihi tempus, in quo boni viri lenitatem meam misericordiamque, notam omnibus quondam,[6] nunc quasi intermissam agnoscerent, improbi ac perditi cives, redomiti atque victi, praecipitante[7] re publica, vehementem[8] me fuisse atque fortem, conservata, mitem ac misericordem faterentur. Et quoniam L. Torquatus, meus familiaris ac necessarius, judices, existimavit, si nostram in accusatione sua necessitatem familiaritatemque violasset,[9] aliquid se de auctoritate[10]

[1] *Antea—obtinere;* P. Cornelius Sulla had been elected consul for the year B.C. 65, together with P. Autronius Paetus; but being convicted of bribery, he was stripped of his dignity. *Dignitatis* here alludes to the consulship, and the *calamitas* to his loss of it.

[2] That is, not a fresh misfortune, like that involved in the present accusation. Sulla had gone into voluntary exile to Naples (see chap. 5), which appeared to Cicero as a proof of his *modestia.*

[3] *Ambitionis* is a softening expression for *ambitus,* of which Sulla was accused and convicted.

[4] Autronius was convicted of having taken part in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and had been sent into exile. Cicero here describes Sulla's misfortune as the consequence of the general and certainly deserved hatred with which the Romans viewed Autronius.

[5] Such as his accuser, L. Torquatus.

[6] That is, previous to the Catilinarian conspiracy.

[7] Equivalent to *ruente,* before the close of the war against Catiline.

[8] 'Harsh and vehement.' Against this charge Cicero defends himself, especially in his second Catilinarian speech.

[9] Namely, by the observation that Cicero, the discoverer and suppressor of the conspiracy, afterwards defends an accomplice of it.

[10] *Auctoritas,* 'weight,' 'influence.' *Hujus* refers to Sulla; *officii mei,* 'of my right and my duty.'

meae defensionis posse detrahere, cum hujus periculi propulsatione conjungam defensionem officii mei. Quo quidem genere non uterer orationis, judices, hoc tempore, si mea solum interesset: multis enim mihi locis et data facultas est et saepe dabitur de mea laude dicendi; sed ut ille, judices, quantum de mea auctoritate deripuisset, tantum se de hujus praesidiis[1] deminuturum *putavit*, sic hoc ego sentio, si mei facti rationem vobis constantiamque hujus officii ac defensionis probavero, causam quoque me P. Sullae probaturum.

2. Ac primum abs te illud, L. Torquate, quaero, cur me a ceteris clarissimis viris ac principibus civitatis in hoc officio atque in defensionis jure secernas: quid enim est, quamobrem abs te Q. Hortensii factum,[2] clarissimi viri atque ornatissimi civis, non reprehendatur, reprehendatur meum? Nam si initum est consilium a P. Sulla inflammandae civitatis hujus, exstinguendi imperii, delendae urbis, mihi majorem hae res dolorem quam Q. Hortensio, mihi majus odium afferre debent, meum denique gravius esse judicium, qui[3] adjuvandus in his causis,[4] qui oppugnandus, qui defendendus, qui deserendus esse videatur? Ita, inquit:[5] tu enim investigasti, tu patefecisti conjurationem. Quod cum dicit, non attendit, eum, qui patefecerit, hoc curasse, ut id omnes viderent, quod antea fuisset occultum. Quare ista conjuratio, si patefacta per me est, tam patet Hortensio quam mihi. Quem[6] cum videas honore hoc, auctoritate, virtute, consilio praeditum[7] non dubitasse quin innocentem P. Sullam defenderet, quaero, cur qui aditus ad causam Hortensio patuerit, mihi interclusus esse debuerit. Quaero illud etiam, si me, qui defendo, reprehendendum putas esse, quid tandem de his existimes summis viris et clarissimis civibus, quorum studio et dignitate celebrari hoc judicium, ornari causam,

[1] That is, *de mea Sullae defensione.*

[2] That is, the defence of Sulla by Q. Hortensius, the celebrated contemporary of Cicero.

[3] *Qui*, equivalent to *de eo, qui*, or *ejus, qui.*

[4] To *causis* supply *conjurationis; oppugnandus* has the meaning of *accusandus*, and *deserendus* that of *non defendendus.*

[5] The subject of *inquit* is the accuser.

[6] Namely, *me Ciceronem.*

[7] *Praeditum* is here placed in such a manner that it may be referred both to *quem* (that is, Cicero himself) and to *P. Sullam.*

defendi hujus innocentiam vides: non enim una est ratio defensionis ea, quae posita est in oratione; omnes, qui adsunt, qui laborant, qui salvum volunt, pro sua parte atque auctoritate defendunt. An vero in quibus subselliis[1] haec ornamenta ac lumina rei publicae viderem, in his me apparere nollem, quorum ego illum in locum atque in hanc celsissimam sedem dignitatis atque honoris multis meis ac magnis laboribus et periculis adscendissem? Atque ut intelligas, Torquate, quem accuses, si te id offendit, quod ego, qui hoc genere quaestionis defenderim neminem, non desim P. Sullae, recordare de ceteris, quos[2] adesse huic vides: intelliges et de hoc et de ceteris[3] judicium meum et horum par atque unum fuisse. Quis nostrum adfuit Varguntei?[4] Nemo, ne hic quidem Q. Hortensius, praesertim qui[5] illum solus antea de ambitu defendisset: non enim jam se ullo officio cum illo conjunctum arbitrabatur, cum ille tanto scelere commisso omnium officiorum societatem diremisset. Quis nostrum Ser. Sullam,[6] quis P., quis M. Laecam, quis C. Cornelium[7] defendendum putavit? quis his horum adfuit? Nemo. Quid ita? quia ceteris in causis etiam nocentes viri boni, si necessarii sunt, non defendendos esse non putant;[8] in hoc crimine non solum levitatis est culpa, verum etiam quaedam contagio sceleris, si defendas eum, quem obstrictum esse patriae parricidio suspicere. Quid? Autronio nonne

[1] Namely, to conduct the case of Sulla. Cicero at the same time alludes to the *subsellia* of the consulars, which immediately after he calls *celsissimam sedem dignitatis atque honoris*.

[2] To *quos* supply *viros consulares*.

[3] *De ceteris*, 'about the others;' namely, both guilty and innocent. *Horum* refers to the consulars.

[4] L. Varguntеius, a senator, was deeply involved in the Catilinarian conspiracy. See Sallust, *Cat.* 17, 28. Cicero mentions him by way of contrast, and especially because he had undertaken to kill Cicero.

[5] 'Especially as,' or 'although.'

[6] The two persons here named, Servius and P. Sulla, were sons of Servius Sulla, and nephews of the dictator (Sallust, *Cat.* 18), and must be distinguished from the Sulla whom Cicero defends in this speech. The latter was, according to Sallust, *Cat.* 18, implicated in the first conspiracy. Respecting M. Laeca, see *in Cat.* 1, 2, 3; Sallust, *Cat.* 27.

[7] C. Cornelius was a Roman eques, who had likewise promised to murder Cicero, Sallust, *Cat.* 28.

[8] They endeavour to defend them in more trifling matters, even if they are unable to deny their guilt; or as Cicero elsewhere says: *judicis est semper in causis verum sequi; patroni nonnunquam verisimile, etiamsi minus sit verum.*

sodales, non collegae sui, non veteres amici, quorum ille copia quondam abundarat, non hi omnes qui sunt in re publica principes, defuerunt? Immo etiam testimonio plerique laeserunt.[1] Statuerant tantum illud esse maleficium, quod non modo non occultari per se, sed etiam aperiri illustrarique deberet.

3. Quamobrem quid est, quod mirere, si cum iisdem me in hac causa vides adesse, cum quibus in ceteris intelligis afuisse? nisi vero me unum vis ferum praeter ceteros, me asperum, me inhumanum existimari, me singulari immanitate et crudelitate praeditum. Hanc mihi tu si propter res meas gestas imponis in omni vita mea personam,[2] Torquate, vehementer erras: me natura misericordem, patria severum; crudelem nec patria nec natura esse voluit. Denique istam ipsam personam vehementem et acrem,[3] quam mihi tum tempus et res publica imposuit, jam voluntas et natura ipsa detraxit: illa[4] enim ad breve tempus severitatem postulavit, haec in omni vita misericordiam lenitatemque desiderat. Quare nihil est, quod ex tanto comitatu virorum amplissimorum me unum abstrahas; simplex officium atque una est bonorum omnium causa; nihil erit, quod admirere posthac, si in ea parte, in qua hos animadverteris, me videbis: nulla est enim in re publica causa mea propria; tempus agendi fuit magis mihi proprium quam ceteris, doloris[5] vero et timoris et periculi fuit illa causa communis: neque enim princeps tunc ad salutem esse potuissem, si esse alii comites noluissent. Quare necesse est, quod mihi consuli praecipuum fuit praeter alios, id jam privato cum ceteris esse commune. Neque ego hoc partiendae invidiae, sed communicandae laudis causa loquor; oneris mei partem nemini impertio, gloriae bonis omnibus. In Autronium testimonium dixisti, inquit; Sullam defendis. Hoc totum ejusmodi est, judices, ut, si ego sim inconstans ac levis, nec testimonio fidem tribui[6]

[1] His friends could only bear witness against him. Autronius was twice accused and condemned for bribery and participation in the conspiracy.

[2] *Persona*, 'the part which a person acts or plays.'

[3] Namely, towards Catiline.

[4] *Illa* refers to *voluntas*, and the following *haec* to *natura*.

[5] Cicero here alludes to the mourning put on by the senate.

[6] Namely, *a judicibus*. Cicero means to say that, if his evidence against Autronius had been of weight, as it actually had been, so also

convenerit nec defensioni auctoritatem. Sin est in me ratio rei publicae, religio privati officii,[1] studium[2] retinendae voluntatis bonorum, nihil minus accusator debet dicere quam a me defendi Sullam, testimonio laesum esse Autronium: videor enim jam non solum studium ad defendendas causas, verum etiam opinionis aliquid et auctoritatis afferre; qua et moderate ego utar, judices, et omnino non uterer, si ille me non coëgisset.

4. Duae conjurationes abs te, Torquate, constituuntur: una, quae Lepido et Volcatio consulibus,[3] patre tuo consule designato, facta esse dicitur, altera, quae me consule; harum in utraque Sullam dicis fuisse. Patris tui, fortissimi viri atque optimi consulis, scis me consiliis non interfuisse; scis, me, cum mihi summus tecum usus esset, tamen illorum expertem temporum et sermonum fuisse; credo, quod nondum penitus in re publica versabar, quod nondum ad propositum mihi finem honoris perveneram, quod mea me ambitio[4] et forensis labor ab omni illa cogitatione abstrahebat. Quis ergo intererat vestris consiliis? Omnes hi, quos vides huic[5] adesse, et in primis Q. Hortensius; qui cum propter honorem ac dignitatem atque animum eximium in rem publicam, tum propter summam familiaritatem summumque amorem in patrem tuum cum communibus, tum praecipuis patris tui periculis[6] commovebatur. Ergo istius conjurationis crimen defensum[7] ab eo est, qui interfuit, qui cognovit, qui particeps et consilii vestri fuit et timoris; cujus in hoc crimine propulsando cum esset copiosissima atque ornatissima oratio, tamen non minus inerat auctoritatis[8] in ea quam facultatis. Illius

his defence of Sulla ought to carry weight with it—both the accusation and the defence arising from the same conscientiousness.

[1] 'Conscientiousness in the discharge of a personal duty.'

[2] *Studium*, 'zeal,' without regard to love of truth, or a well-established reputation (*auctoritas*).

[3] That is, in the year B.C. 66.

[4] *Ambitio* is explained by *labor forensis*. Cicero means to say that at that time his office and his activity as an orator formed his only ambition. See *pro leg. Manil.* 24.

[5] *Huic* refers to Sulla.

[6] *Periculis*, and afterwards *timoris*, refer to the danger of the first Catilinarian conspiracy.

[7] Q. Hortensius had cleared Sulla from the charge of having been connected with the first Catilinarian conspiracy.

[8] Because Hortensius was very closely connected with the consul Torquatus. *Facultas* here denotes 'powerful oratory.'

igitur conjurationis, quae facta contra vos, delata ad vos, a vobis prolata esse dicitur, ego testis esse non potui: non modo enim nihil comperi, sed vix[1] ad aures meas istius suspicionis fama pervenit. Qui vobis in consilio fuerunt, qui vobiscum illa cognorunt, quibus ipsis periculum tum conflari putabatur, qui Autronio non adfuerunt, qui in illum testimonia gravia dixerunt, hunc[2] defendunt, huic adsunt, in hujus periculo[3] declarant se non crimine conjurationis, ne adessent ceteris, sed hominum maleficio deterritos esse. Mei consulatus autem tempus et crimen maximae[4] conjurationis a me defendetur. Atque inter nos partitio non est fortuito, judices, nec temere facta, sed cum videremus eorum criminum nos patronos adhiberi, quorum testes esse possemus, uterque nostrum id sibi suscipiendum putavit, de quo aliquid scire ipse atque existimare potuisset. Et quoniam de criminibus superioris conjurationis Hortensium diligenter audistis, de hac conjuratione, quae me consule facta est, hoc primum attendite.

5. Multa, cum essem consul, de summis rei publicae periculis audivi, multa quaesivi, multa cognovi; nullus unquam de Sulla nuntius ad me, nullum indicium, nullae litterae pervenerunt, nulla suspicio. Multum haec vox fortasse deberet valere ejus hominis, qui consul insidias rei publicae consilio investigasset, veritate[5] aperuisset, magnitudine animi vindicasset, cum ipse nihil audisse[6] de P. Sulla, nihil suspicatum esse diceret. Sed ego nondum utor hac voce ad hunc defendendum; ad purgandum me potius utor, ut mirari Torquatus desinat, me, qui Autronio afuerim, Sullam defendere. Quae enim Autronii fuit causa? quae Sullae est? Ille ambitus judicium tollere ac disturbare primum conflato voluit gladiatorum ac fugitivorum tumultu, deinde, id quod vidimus omnes, lapidatione atque concursu; Sulla, si sibi suus pudor ac dignitas non prodesset, nullum auxilium requisivit.

[1] *Vix* is to be taken ironically.
[2] *Hunc* points to the accused Sulla.
[3] *Periculum* here alludes to the accusation.
[4] The by far greater and more important conspiracy in Cicero's consulship, which Cicero in his Catilinarian speeches always describes as the most fearful calamity.
[5] 'By honesty,' or 'love of truth;' perhaps in contrast to his colleague Antonius, who secretly favoured the designs of the conspirators.
[6] To *audisse* supply *se*, which is also omitted in chaps. 13 and 23.

Ille damnatus ita se gerebat non solum consiliis et sermonibus, verum etiam adspectu atque voltu, ut inimicus esse amplissimis ordinibus,[1] infestus bonis omnibus, hostis patriae videretur; hic se ita fractum illa calamitate[2] atque afflictum putavit, ut nihil sibi ex pristina dignitate superesse arbitraretur nisi quod modestia retinuisset. Hac vero in conjuratione quid tam conjunctum quam ille cum Catilina, cum Lentulo? quae tanta societas ullis inter se rerum optimarum, quanti ei cum illis sceleris, libidinis, audaciae? quod flagitium Lentulus non cum Autronio concepit? quod sine eodem illo Catilina facinus admisit? cum interim Sulla cum eisdem illis non modo noctem[3] solitudinemque non quaereret, sed ne mediocri[4] quidem sermone et congressu conjungeretur. Illum Allobroges,[5] maximarum rerum verissimi indices, illum multorum litterae[6] ac nuntii coarguerunt; Sullam interea nemo insimulavit, nemo nominavit. Postremo, ejecto sive emisso jam ex urbe Catilina, ille arma misit, cornua, tubas, falces, signa, ligones; ille relictus[7] intus, exspectatus foris, Lentuli poena[8] compressus, convertit se aliquando ad timorem, nunquam ad sanitatem; hic contra ita quievit, ut eo tempore omni Neapoli fuerit, ubi neque homines fuisse putantur hujus affines suspicionis, et locus est ipse non tam ad inflammandos calamitosorum animos quam ad consolandos[9] accommodatus.

6. Propter hanc igitur tantam dissimilitudinem hominum atque causarum dissimilem me in utroque praebui. Veniebat enim ad me, et saepe veniebat, Autronius, multis cum lacrimis supplex, ut se defenderem, et se meum condiscipulum in pueritia, familiarem in adolescentia, collegam in quaestura commemorabat fuisse; multa mea in se, nonnulla etiam

[1] Namely, *senatorio, equestri.*

[2] That is, by the charge of being involved in the conspiracy.

[3] Because the meetings of the conspirators were held at night. See *in Cat.* i. 1.

[4] *Mediocris* here signifies 'slight,' 'harmless.'

[5] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 40 foll.; Cic. *in Cat.* iii. 2.

[6] Such as those which Cicero had taken from the ambassadors of the Allobroges. See *in Cat.* iii. 3, 4.

[7] To *relictus* supply *a Catilina. Foris;* that is, *Faesulis.*

[8] After Cicero had carried the opinion which he maintained in the fourth Catilinarian speech, Lentulus was strangled in prison.

[9] On account of the pleasant situation of this municipium, which at that time was an insignificant place.

sua in me proferebat officia. Quibus ego rebus, judices, ita flectebar animo atque frangebar, ut etiam ex memoria quas mihi ipsi fecerat insidias deponerem, ut jam immissum esse ab eo C. Cornelium,[1] qui me in sedibus meis,[2] in conspectu uxoris meae ac liberorum meorum trucidaret, oblivisceretur. Quae si de uno me cogitasset, qua mollitia sum animi ac lenitate, nunquam, mehercule, illius lacrimis ac precibus restitissem; sed cum mihi patriae, cum vestrorum periculorum, cum hujus urbis, cum illorum delubrorum atque templorum, cum puerorum infantium, cum matronarum ac virginum veniebat in mentem,[3] et cum illae infestae ac funestae faces universumque totius urbis incendium, cum tela, cum caedes, cum civium cruor, cum cinis patriae versari ante oculos atque animum memoria refricare coeperat, tum denique ei resistebam, neque solum illi hosti ac parricidae, sed his etiam propinquis illius, Marcellis,[4] patri et filio, quorum alter apud me parentis gravitatem, alter filii suavitatem obtinebat: neque me arbitrabar sine summo scelere posse, quod maleficium in aliis vindicassem, idem in illorum socio, cum scirem, defendere. Atque idem ego neque P. Sullam supplicem ferre neque eosdem Marcellos pro hujus periculis lacrimantes adspicere neque hujus M. Messallae,[5] hominis necessarii, preces sustinere potui: neque enim est causa adversata naturae, nec homo nec res misericordiae meae repugnavit; nusquam nomen, nusquam vestigium fuerat, nullum crimen, nullum indicium, nulla suspicio. Suscepi causam, Torquate, suscepi, et feci libenter, ut me, quem boni constantem semper, ut spero, existimassent, eundem ne improbi quidem crudelem[6] dicerent.

7. Hic ait se ille, judices, regnum[7] meum ferre non posse.

[1] See above, chap. 2.

[2] That is, *in domo mea*, as *in Cat.* iv. 9.

[3] In the expression *in mentem venit mihi alicujus rei*, the genitive may be explained by supplying *memoria*, as in chap. 13 by supplying *nomen*. Compare, however, *Gram.* § 280, note 2.

[4] The Marcelli here mentioned were not accomplices in the conspiracy, but friends of Cicero; perhaps the consuls of the years B.C. 51 and 49.

[5] M. Valerius Messalla was consul in B.C. 61.

[6] As if I did not know how to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent.

[7] *Regnum* here means, 'domineering conduct,' shown first against the Catilinarians, and on the present occasion in favour of Sulla.

Quod tandem, Torquate, regnum? Consulatus, credo, mei; in quo ego imperavi nihil, sed contra patribus conscriptis et bonis omnibus parui: quo in magistratu non institutum est a me, judices, regnum, sed repressum.[1] An tu in tanto imperio tantaque potestate non dices me fuisse regem, nunc privatum regnare dicis? quo tandem nomine?[2] Quod in quos testimonia dixisti, inquit,[3] damnati sunt; quem defendis, sperat se absolutum iri. Hic tibi ego de testimoniis meis hoc respondeo: si falsum dixerim, te in eosdem[4] dixisse; sin verum, non esse hoc regnare, cum verum juratus dicas, probare. De hujus spe tantum dico, nullas a me opes P. Sullam, nullam potentiam, nihil denique praeter fidem defensionis[5] exspectare. Nisi tu, inquit, causam recepisses, nunquam mihi restitisset, sed indicta causa[6] profugisset. Si jam hoc tibi concedam, Q. Hortensium, tanta gravitate hominem, si hos tales viros non suo stare judicio,[7] sed meo; si hoc tibi dem, quod credi non potest, nisi ego huic adessem, hos adfuturos non fuisse: uter tandem rex est, isne, cui innocentes homines[8] non resistunt, an is, qui calamitosos non deserit? At hic etiam, id quod tibi necesse minime fuit, facetus esse voluisti, cum Tarquinium et Numam et me tertium peregrinum[9] regem esse dixisti.

8. Mitto jam de rege quaerere; illud quaero, peregrinum cur me esse dixeris: nam si ita sum, non tam est admirandum regem esse me, quoniam, ut tu vis, etiam peregrini reges Romae fuerunt, quam consulem Romae fuisse pere-

[1] To *repressum* supply *regnum Catilinae.*

[2] 'In what respect?'

[3] Cicero always uses the third person when, in alluding to the accuser, he addresses himself at once to the judges and to the audience; it conveys, at the same time, an ironical or contemptuous meaning, as below.

[4] It is not evident whether Cicero here alludes to Autronius (see above, chap. 2), though he has said before that all the evidence was against him.

[5] *Fides defensionis* is 'a conscientious defence.'

[6] 'Would have gone into voluntary exile, without awaiting the verdict.'

[7] *Non suo stare judicio*, 'Not to have confidence in one's own judgment.'

[8] Namely, such as Sulla is.

[9] Tarquinius Priscus came from Etruria, Numa from the country of the Sabines, and Cicero from Arpinum; the inhabitants of which had obtained the Roman franchise in B.C. 189.

grinum. Hoc dico, inquit, te esse ex municipio. Fateor, et addo etiam, ex eo municipio, unde iterum[1] jam salus huic urbi imperioque missa est. Sed scire ex te pervelim, quamobrem qui ex municipiis veniant, peregrini tibi esse videantur: nemo enim istuc M. illi Catoni[2] seni, cum plurimos haberet inimicos, nemo Ti. Coruncanio,[3] nemo M'. Curio,[4] nemo huic ipsi nostro C. Mario, cum ei multi inviderent, objecit unquam. Equidem vehementer laetor eum esse me, in quem tu, cum cuperes, nullam contumeliam jacere potueris, quae non ad maximam[5] partem civium conveniret. Sed tamen te a me pro magnis causis nostrae necessitudinis monendum esse etiam atque etiam puto. Non possunt omnes esse patricii; si verum quaeris, ne curant quidem,[6] nec se aequales tui propter istam causam abs te anteiri putant. Ac si tibi nos peregrini videmur, quorum jam et nomen et honos inveteravit et huic urbi et hominum famae ac sermonibus, quam tibi illos competitores[7] tuos peregrinos videri necesse erit, qui jam ex tota Italia delecti tecum de honore et de omni dignitate contendunt! quorum cave tu quemquam peregrinum appelles, ne peregrinorum[8] suffragiis obruare. Qui si attulerint nervos et industriam, mihi crede, excutient tibi istam verborum jactationem et te ex somno saepe excitabunt, nec patientur se abs te, nisi virtute vincentur, honore superari. Ac si, judices, ceteris patriciis me et vos peregrinos videri oporteret, a Torquato tamen hoc vitium sileretur: est enim ipse a materno genere municipalis, honestissimi ac nobilissimi generis, sed tamen Asculani. Aut igitur doceat, Picentes solos non esse peregrinos, aut gaudeat suo generi me meum ante non ponere.[9]

[1] 'Already twice:' first through C. Marius, the conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones; and secondly through Cicero himself.

[2] M. Cato, surnamed Censorius, the celebrated contemporary of the younger Scipio Africanus, was a native of Tusculum.

[3] Ti. Coruncanius was consul in B.C. 280, and a native of Camerium.

[4] M'. Curius, surnamed Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus; his native place is unknown.

[5] Because in Cicero's time all Italy had the Roman franchise.

[6] For all distinctions in regard to offices and honours had ceased long before.

[7] Competitors of Torquatus for some office which is unknown.

[8] Namely, of those who were settled at Rome, though they were not natives of the city.

[9] *Ante non ponere*, emphatic for *non anteponere*.

Quare neque me peregrinum posthac dixeris, ne gravius[1] refutere, neque regem, ne derideare; nisi forte regium tibi videtur ita vivere, ut non modo homini nemini, sed ne cupiditati quidem ulli servias; contemnere omnes libidines, non auri, non argenti, non ceterarum rerum indigere, in senatu sentire libere, populi utilitati magis consulere quam voluntati, nemini cedere, multis obsistere. Si hoc putas esse regium, me regem esse confiteor; sin te potentia mea, si dominatio, si denique aliquod dictum arrogans aut superbum movet, quin tu id potius profers quam verbi[2] invidiam contumeliamque maledicti.

9. Ego, tantis a me beneficiis in re publica positis, si nullum aliud mihi praemium ab senatu populoque Romano nisi honestum otium postularem, quis non concederet? Sibi haberent[3] honores, sibi imperia, sibi provincias, sibi triumphos, sibi alia praeclarae laudis insignia; mihi liceret ejus urbis, quam conservassem, conspectu tranquillo[4] animo et quieto frui. Quid? si hoc[5] non postulo; si ille labor meus pristinus, si sollicitudo, si officia, si operae,[6] si vigiliae deserviunt amicis, praesto sunt omnibus; si neque amici in foro requirunt studium meum neque res publica in curia; si me non modo[7] rerum gestarum vacatio, sed neque honoris neque aetatis excusatio vindicat a labore; si voluntas mea, si industria, si domus, si animus, si aures patent omnibus; si mihi ne ad ea quidem, quae pro salute omnium gessi, recordanda et cogitanda quidquam relinquitur temporis: tamen hoc regnum appellabitur, cujus[8] vicarius qui velit esse, inveniri nemo potest?[9] Longe abest a me regni suspicio. Si quaeris, qui sint Romae regnum occupare conati, ut ne

[1] 'More seriously,' 'in a more painful manner,' e. g., by your competitors and all the *peregrini* of Rome.

[2] To *verbi* supply *regis et regnandi;* the *maledictum* refers to Torquatus having called Cicero a *peregrinus.*

[3] 'May they retain for themselves.'

[4] *Tranquillo* must be connected with *animo.*

[5] *Hoc;* that is, *honestum otium.*

[6] 'Exertions.'

[7] *Non modo,* equivalent to *non modo non.* The *rerum gestarum vacatio* is the leisure granted to him on account of his successful exertions.

[8] *Cujus,* equivalent to *ejus, cujus,* or *mei, cujus.*

[9] Namely, on account of his immense care and anxiety for the good of the state.

replices annalium memoriam, ex domesticis[1] imaginibus invenies. Res enim gestae, credo, meae me nimis extulerunt ac mihi nescio quos spiritus[2] attulerunt. Quibus de rebus tam claris, tam immortalibus, judices, hoc possum dicere, me, qui e summis eripuerim periculis urbem hanc et vitam omnium civium, satis adeptum fore, si ex hoc tanto in omnes mortales beneficio nullum in me periculum redundarit.[3] Etenim in qua[4] civitate res tantas gesserim, memini, et in qua urbe verser, intelligo: plenum forum est eorum hominum, quos ego a vestris cervicibus depuli, judices, a meis non removi; nisi vero[5] paucos fuisse arbitramini, qui conari aut sperare possent se tantum imperium posse delere. Horum ego faces eripere de manibus et gladios extorquere potui, sicut feci, voluntates conceleratas ac nefarias nec sanare potui nec tollere. Quare non sum nescius, quanto periculo vivam in tanta multitudine improborum, cum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam bellum esse susceptum.

10. Quod si illis meis praesidiis forte invides, et si ea tibi regia[6] videntur, quod omnes boni omnium generum atque ordinum suam salutem cum mea conjungunt, consolare te, quod omnium mentes improborum[7] mihi uni maxime sunt infensae et adversae; qui me non solum idcirco oderunt, quod eorum conatus impios et furorem conceleratum repressi, sed eo etiam magis, quod nihil jam se simile me vivo conari posse arbitrantur. At vero quid ego miror, si quid ab improbis de me improbe dicitur, cum L. Torquatus

[1] One of Torquatus' ancestors, M. Manlius, the deliverer of the Capitol, was afterwards charged with aiming at the sovereignty, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock, B.C. 383.

[2] *Spiritus*, 'haughty sentiment,' or 'pride.'

[3] Cicero, even in his Catilinarian speeches, often mentions the hatred which he drew upon himself by the discovery and suppression of the conspiracy. The events which afterwards occurred show that he had not anticipated too much.

[4] *In qua* for *in quali*, is said somewhat contemptuously.

[5] 'Unless, indeed, you think that there were only very few;' an ironical admonition to be cautious.

[6] *Regia*, 'unbearable,' incompatible with the institutions of the republic.

[7] Because the number of my enemies is not smaller than that of the good citizens who are my friends; hence *consolare te* is ironical, Cicero putting Torquatus on a level with the *improbi*.

primum ipse his fundamentis[1] adolescentiae jactis, ea spe proposita amplissimae dignitatis,[2] deinde L. Torquati,[3] fortissimi consulis, constantissimi senatoris, semper optimi civis, filius, interdum efferatur immoderatione verborum? Qui cum suppressa voce[4] de scelere P. Lentuli, de audacia conjuratorum omnium dixisset, tantummodo ut vos, qui ea probatis, exaudire possetis, de supplicio [P.] Lentuli, de carcere, magna[5] et queribunda voce dicebat. In quo primum illud erat absurdum, quod cum ea, quae leviter[6] dixerat, vobis probare volebat, eos autem, qui circum judicium stabant, audire nolebat, non intelligebat, ea, quae clare diceret, ita illos audituros, quibus se venditabat, ut vos quoque[7] audiretis, qui id non probabatis. Deinde alterum jam oratoris vitium, non videre, quid quaeque causa postulet. Nihil est enim tam alienum ab eo, qui alterum conjurationis accuset, quam videri conjuratorum poenam mortemque lugere. Quod cum is tribunus plebi[8] facit, qui unus videtur ex illis ad lugendos conjuratos relictus, nemini mirum est: difficile est enim tacere, cum doleas; te, si quid ejusmodi facis, non modo talem adolescentem,[9] sed in ea causa, in qua te vindicem conjurationis velis esse, vehementer admiror. Sed reprehendo tamen illud maxime, quod isto ingenio[10] et prudentia praeditus causam rei publicae non tenes, qui arbitrere plebi Romanae res eas non probari, quas me consule omnes boni pro salute communi gesserunt.

11. Ecquem tu horum, qui adsunt, quibus te contra ipsorum voluntatem venditabas, aut tam sceleratum statuis fuisse, ut haec omnia perire voluerit, aut tam miserum, ut et se perire cuperet et nihil haberet, quod salvum esse

[1] To *fundamentis* supply *optimis*.

[2] Since from the very first he aimed at obtaining the highest dignities.

[3] This is L. Torquatus, the consul of B.C. 65; he is called *fortissimus*, because he had suppressed the first Catilinarian conspiracy.

[4] So that only those who were quite close to him—that is, those who abhorred the attempts—could hear him.

[5] So that especially the *improbi* could hear it.

[6] That is, *suppressa voce*.

[7] To *vos quoque* supply *judices*, before whom Torquatus brought his accusation in a low voice.

[8] That is, L. Calpurnius Bestia; see Sallust, *Cat.* 43.

[9] That is, I wonder that you can be such a person; namely, a friend of the Catilinarians.

[10] To *isto ingenio* supply *bono* or *praeclaro*.

vellet? An vero clarissimum virum[1] generis vestri ac nominis nemo reprehendit, qui filium suum vita privavit, ut in ceteros[2] firmaret imperium; tu rem publicam reprehendis, quae domesticos hostes, ne ab iis ipsa necaretur, necavit? Itaque attende jam, Torquate, quam ego defugiam[3] auctoritatem consulatus mei. Maxima voce, ut omnes exaudire possint, dico semperque dicam: adestote omnes animis, qui adestis corporibus, quorum ego frequentia magno opere laetor; erigite mentes auresque vestras et me de invidiosis rebus, ut ille putat, dicentem attendite! Ego consul, cum exercitus perditorum civium clandestino scelere conflatus crudelissimum et luctuosissimum exitium patriae comparasset, cum ad occasum interitumque rei publicae Catilina in castris,[4] in his autem templis atque tectis dux Lentulus esset constitutus, meis consiliis, meis laboribus, mei capitis periculis, sine tumultu, sine delectu, sine armis, sine exercitu, quinque hominibus comprehensis atque confossis,[5] incensione urbem, internecione cives, vastitate Italiam, interitu rem publicam liberavi; ego vitam omnium civium, statum orbis terrae, urbem hanc denique, sedem omnium nostrum, arcem regum ac nationum exterarum, lumen gentium, domicilium imperii, quinque hominum amentium ac perditorum poena redemi. An me existimasti haec injuratum in judicio non esse dicturum, quae juratus[6] in maxima contione dixissem?

12. Atque etiam illud addam, ne qui forte incipiat improbus subito te amare, Torquate, et aliquid sperare de te; atque, ut idem omnes exaudiant, clarissima voce dicam: harum omnium rerum, quas ego in consulatu pro salute

[1] Namely, T. Manlius Torquatus Imperiosus, consul in B. C. 340, ordered his own son to be put to death, because, contrary to his order, the young man had ventured upon an engagement with the Latins.

[2] To *ceteros* supply *milites Romanos*.

[3] *Defugere* here is 'to deny;' *quam* is ironical.

[4] These *castra* are those of Mallius in Etruria; and *in his templis* is equivalent to 'here at Rome.'

[5] This alludes to the result of the fourth Catilinarian speech; see Sallust, *Cat.* 55. Those who were strangled were P. Lentulus, C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, and M. Caeparius.

[6] Cicero, who was prevented by the tribune Q. Metellus from addressing the people, and giving them an account of what he had done during his consulship, swore, on the last day of his office, that the state had been saved by him.

communi suscepi et gessi, L. ille Torquatus, cum esset meus contubernalis[1] in consulatu atque etiam in praetura[2] fuisset, auctor, adjutor, particeps exstitit, cum princeps, cum auctor, cum signifer esset juventutis; parens[3] ejus, homo amantissimus patriae, maximi animi, summi consilii, singularis constantiae, cum esset aeger, tamen omnibus rebus illis interfuit, nunquam est a me digressus,[4] studio, consilio, auctoritate unus adjuvit plurimum, cum infirmitatem corporis animi virtute superaret. Videsne, ut eripiam te ex improborum subita gratia et reconciliem bonis omnibus? qui te et diligunt et retinent retinebuntque semper, nec si a me forte desciveris, idcirco te a se et a re publica et a tua dignitate deficere patientur. Sed jam redeo ad causam atque hoc vos, judices, testor: mihi de memet ipso tam multa dicendi necessitas quaedam imposita est ab illo. Nam si Torquatus Sullam solum accusasset, ego quoque hoc tempore nihil aliud agerem nisi eum, qui accusatus esset, defenderem; sed cum ille tota illa oratione in me esset invectus et cum initio, ut dixi,[5] defensionem meam auctoritate spoliare voluisset, etiam si dolor meus respondere non cogeret, tamen ipsa causa hanc a me orationem flagitasset.

13. Ab Allobrogibus[6] nominatum Sullam esse dicis. Quis negat? Sed lege indicium, et vide, quemadmodum nominatus sit. L. Cassium dixerunt commemorasse, cum ceteris Autronium secum facere. Quaero, num Sullam dixerit Cassius? Nusquam; sese aiunt quaesisse de Cassio, quid Sulla sentiret. Videte diligentiam Gallorum; qui vitam hominum[7] naturamque non nossent ac tantum audissent eos pari calamitate esse, quaesiverunt, essentne eadem voluntate? Quid tum? Cassius si respondisset idem sentire et secum facere Sullam, tamen mihi non videretur in hunc

[1] 'My daily companion.' By such intercourse with experienced and celebrated men, young persons used to train themselves for the duties of practical life.

[2] That is, in the year B.C. 66; see *pro leg. Man.*, 1.

[3] See above, chap. 10.

[4] Namely, at the time when Cicero was consul. Above, chap. 4, the orator judges less favourably of him. During the first months of Cicero's consulship, however, Torquatus had been in Macedonia.

[5] Compare above, chap. 2.

[6] See *in Cat.* iii. 2; and for L. Cassius, *ibid*, chap. 4.

[7] Especially of P. Sulla; as, afterwards, *eos* likewise refers to Sulla alone.

id criminosum esse debere. Quid ita? Quia qui barbaros homines ad bellum impelleret, non debebat minuere illorum suspicionem[1] et purgare eos, de quibus illi aliquid suspicari viderentur. Non respondit[2] tamen una facere Sullam. Etenim esset absurdum, cum ceteros sua sponte nominasset, mentionem Sullae facere nullam nisi admonitum et interrogatum; nisi forte veri simile est P. Sullae nomen in memoria Cassio non fuisse. Si nobilitas hominis, si afflicta fortuna,[3] si reliquiae pristinae dignitatis non tam illustres fuissent, tamen Autronii commemoratio memoriam Sullae rettulisset; etiam, ut arbitror, cum auctoritates principum conjurationis ad incitandos animos Allobrogum colligeret Cassius, et cum sciret exteras nationes maxime nobilitate moveri, non prius Autronium quam Sullam nominasset. Jam vero illud probari minime potest, Gallos Autronio nominato putasse propter calamitatis similitudinem[4] sibi aliquid de Sulla esse quaerendum, Cassio, si hic esset in eodem scelere, ne cum appellasset quidem Autronium, hujus in mentem venire[5] potuisse. Sed tamen quid respondit de Sulla Cassius? Se nescire certum. Non purgat, inquit. Dixi antea: ne si argueret quidem tum denique, cum esset interrogatus, id mihi criminosum videretur. Sed ego in indiciis et in quaestionibus non hoc quaerendum arbitror, num purgetur aliqui,[6] sed num arguatur: etenim cum negat se scire Cassius, utrum sublevat[7] Sullam, an satis probat se nescire? Sublevat apud Gallos. Quid ita? ne indicent? Quid? si periculum esse putasset, ne illi unquam indicarent, de se ipso confessus esset? Nescivit. Credo, judices, celatum esse[8] Cassium de Sulla uno: nam

[1] Their suspicion that many were involved in the conspiracy. Sallust, *Cat.* 40.

[2] The subject to *respondit* is Cassius.

[3] That is, his voluntary exile; see above, chap. 1.

[4] For Autronius had been accused of bribery along with P. Sulla, and both had been obliged to resign their office.

[5] For this expression, see above, p. 197, note 3.

[6] *Aliqui*, like *ne qui*, chap. 12 and 15.

[7] That is, *excusat*. This, and the subsequent answer, Cicero returns to himself in the name of Torquatus, and of all who can give a reasonable answer. Both parts of the double question are first answered in the affirmative, and then refuted.

[8] This is ironical, as if Sulla had been a secret partner of the conspirators, of whom Cassius could not know or suspect anything.

de ceteris certe sciebat, et ea domi ejus pleraque conficta esse constabat. Qui negare noluit esse in eo numero Sullam, quo plus spei Gallis daret, dicere autem falsum non ausus est, nescire dixit. Atqui hoc perspicuum est, cum is, qui de omnibus scierit, de Sulla se scire negarit, eandem vim esse negationis hujus quam si extra conjurationem hunc esse se scire dixisset: nam cujus scientiam de omnibus constat fuisse, ejus ignoratio de aliquo purgatio debet videri. Sed jam non quaero, purgetne Cassius Sullam; illud mihi tantum satis est, contra Sullam nihil esse in indicio.

14. Exclusus hac criminatione Torquatus rursus in me irruit, me accusat; ait me aliter ac dictum sit in tabulas publicas rettulisse.[1] O dii immortales! (vobis enim tribuam, quae vestra sunt; nec vero possum meo tantum ingenio dare, ut tot res, tantas, tam varias, tam repentinas, in illa turbulentissima tempestate rei publicae mea sponte disperxerim); vos profecto animum meum tum conservandae patriae cupiditate incendistis; vos me ab omnibus ceteris cogitationibus ad unam salutem rei publicae convertistis; vos denique in tantis tenebris erroris et inscientiae clarissimum lumen praetulistis menti meae. Vidi[2] ego hoc, judices, nisi recenti memoria senatus[3] auctoritatem hujus indicii monumentis publicis testatus essem, fore, ut aliquando non Torquatus neque Torquati quispiam similis, (nam id me multum fefellit) sed ut aliquis patrimonio naufragus, inimicus otii, bonorum hostis, aliter indicata haec esse diceret, quo facilius vento aliquo in optimum quemque excitato posset in malis rei publicae portum suorum malorum aliquem invenire. Itaque introductis in senatum indicibus, constitui senatores, qui omnia indicum dicta, interrogata, responsa perscriberent.[4] At quos viros! non solum summa virtute et fide,

[1] Namely, in my consulship. *Tabulae publicae* are the documents containing the evidence of the Allobroges and others against the conspirators. Such documents were kept, together with the senatus consulta and similar documents, in the archives (*tabularium*); at first in the temple of Ceres, under the superintendence of the plebeian aediles. The tabularium was near the Forum, by the temple of Concordia. See *in Cat.* iii. 8.

[2] *Video* here signifies 'to foresee.'

[3] *Senatus* belongs to *memoria*: 'if I had not, in the fresh recollection of the senate, attested the truth of the evidence by public records.'

[4] These written records must have been engraved on brass tablets in the above-mentioned documents (*tabulae publicae*).

cujus generis in senatu facultas maxima est, sed etiam quos sciebam memoria, scientia, consuetudine et celeritate scribendi facillime, quae dicerentur, persequi posse, C. Cosconium,[1] qui tunc erat praetor, M. Messallam,[2] qui tum praeturam petebat, P. Nigidium,[3] Ap. Claudium.[4] Credo esse neminem, qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse.

15. Quid deinde? quid feci? Cum scirem ita indicium in tabulas publicas relatum, ut illae tabulae privata tamen custodia[5] more majorum continerentur, non occultavi, non continui domi, sed describi ab omnibus statim librariis,[6] dividi passim et pervolgari atque edi populo Romano imperavi; divisi toti Italiae, emisi in omnes provincias, ejus indicii, e quo salus oblata esset omnibus, expertem esse neminem volui. Itaque dico locum in orbe terrarum esse nullum, quo in loco populi Romani nomen sit, quin eodem perscriptum hoc indicium pervenerit. In quo[7] ego tam subito et exiguo et turbido tempore multa divinitus, ita ut dixi, non mea sponte, providi: primum, ne qui posset tantum[8] aut de rei publicae aut de alicujus periculo meminisse, quantum vellet; deinde, ne cui liceret unquam reprehendere illud indicium aut temere creditum[9] criminari; postremo, ne quid jam a me, ne quid ex meis commentariis quaereretur, ne aut oblivio mea aut memoria videretur nimia; ne denique aut negligentia turpis aut diligentia crudelis putaretur. Sed tamen abs te, Torquate, quaero, cum indicatus tuus[10] inimicus esset et esset ejus rei frequens senatus et recens memoria testis, tibi, meo familiari et contubernali, prius etiam edituri fuerint indicium scribae mei, si voluisses, quam in codicem

[1] C. Cosconius was afterwards governor of Spain.
[2] M. Messalla was consul in B.C. 53.
[3] P. Nigidius Figulus was a learned man.
[4] Appius Claudius was at this time augur, but obtained the consulship in B.C. 54.
[5] Such documents remained in the hands of him who had to conduct the trial; accordingly, in this case, in the hands of the consul until his office came to its close, when they were deposited in the tabularium.
[6] *Librarii* were the public scribes of the senate and the consuls.
[7] By this multiplying and publishing.
[8] *Tantum*, 'only so much as he felt inclined;' that is, he might perhaps pass over important points.
[9] Namely, if it were not immediately or not completely recorded.
[10] That is, *non Allobrogum*.

rettulissent: cum videres aliter fieri,[1] cur tacuisti, passus es, non mecum aut cum familiari meo questus es, aut quoniam tam facile inveheris in amicos,[2] iracundius aut vehementius expostulasti? Tu, cum tua vox nunquam sit audita, cum indicio lecto, descripto, divolgato quieveris, tacueris, repente tantam rem ementiare et in eum locum te deducas, ut ante quam me commutati[3] indicii coargueris, te summae negligentiae tuo judicio[4] convictum esse fateare?

16. Mihi cujusquam salus tanti fuisset, ut meam negligerem? per me ego veritatem patefactam contaminarem aliquo mendacio? quemquam denique ego juvarem, a quo et crudeles insidias in rem publicam factas et in me potissimum consulem constitutas putarem? Quod si jam essem oblitus severitatis et constantiae meae, tamne amens eram, ut, cum litterae posteritatis causa repertae sint, quae subsidio oblivioni esse possent, ego recentem putarem memoriam cuncti senatus commentario[5] meo posse superari? Fero ego te, Torquate, jamdudum fero, et nonnunquam animum incitatum ad ulciscendam orationem tuam revoco ipse et reflecto; permitto aliquid iracundiae tuae, do adolescentiae, cedo amicitiae, tribuo parenti. Sed, nisi tibi aliquem modum tute constitueris, coges oblitum me nostrae amicitiae habere rationem[6] meae dignitatis. Nemo unquam me tenuissima suspicione perstrinxit, quem non perculerim ac perfregerim. Sed mihi hoc credas velim: non iis libentissime soleo respondere, quos mihi videor facillime posse superare. Tu, quoniam minime ignoras consuetudinem dicendi meam, noli hac nova lenitate abuti mea, noli aculeos orationis meae, qui reconditi sunt, excussos[7] arbitrari, noli id putare omnino a me esse amissum,[8] si quid est tibi remissum atque concessum. Cum illae valent apud me excusationes injuriae

[1] Since you saw how my scribes, nevertheless, recorded and copied the evidence, and therefore you think they made forgeries.

[2] Namely, as at present against me.

[3] *Commutatus*, 'adulterated,' 'forged.'

[4] 'According to, and on account of, your judgment.'

[5] *Commentario*, the same as *commento*, 'by my invention,' or 'forgery.'

[6] Well said. While hearing *rationem*, we at once and involuntarily hear *orationem*. Cicero, by speaking of sparing Torquatus, as being too weak an opponent, intentionally humbles him greatly.

[7] *Excussus*, 'used up,' 'worn out,' 'made blunt.'

[8] *Amissus*, 'given up as useless or powerless.'

tuae, iratus animus tuus, aetas, amicitia nostra, tum nondum statuo te virium satis habere, ut ego tecum luctari et congredi debeam. Quod si esses usu atque aetate robustior, essem idem, qui soleo, cum sum lacessitus. Nunc tecum sic agam, tulisse ut potius injuriam quam rettulisse gratiam[1] videar.

17. Neque vero quid mihi irascare, intelligere possum; si,[2] quod eum defendo, quem tu accusas, cur tibi quoque ipse non succenseo, qui accuses eum, quem ego defendo? Inimicum, inquis, accuso meum. Et amicum ego defendo meum. Non debes tamen quemquam in conjurationis quaestione defendere. Immo nemo magis eum,[3] de quo nihil est unquam suspicatus, quam is, qui de aliis[4] multa cogitavit. Cur dixisti testimonium in alios?[5] Quia coactus. Cur damnati sunt? Quia creditum est. Regnum est dicere in quem velis ac defendere quem velis. Immo servitus est non dicere in quem velis ac non defendere quem velis. Ac si considerare coeperis, utrum magis mihi hoc necesse fuerit facere an istud[6] tibi, intelliges honestius te inimicitiarum modum statuere potuisse quam me humanitatis.[7] An vero cum honos agebatur amplissimus familiae vestrae, hoc est, consulatus parentis tui, sapientissimus vir[8] familiarissimis suis succensuit pater tuus, cum Sullam et defenderent et laudarent? Intelligebat hanc nobis a majoribus esse traditam disciplinam, ut nullius amicitia ad propulsanda pericula impediremur. Et erat huic judicio longe dissimilis illa contentio;[9] tum, afflicto P. Sulla, consulatus vobis pariebatur, sicuti partus est; honoris erat certamen; ereptum repetere vos clamitabatis, ut victi in campo[10] in foro vinceretis; tum qui contra vos pro hujus salute pugnabant, amicissimi vestri,

[1] 'To return thanks,' in a bad sense.
[2] To *si* supply *mihi irasceris*.
[3] To *eum* supply *debet defendere*.
[4] This is ambiguous and cutting: it is aimed at Torquatus himself.
[5] Supply 'and not against Sulla also.'
[6] *Istud* is the accusation against Sulla.
[7] Because I was obliged to be strict and just for the good of the state.
[8] Your father might have had more reason to be angry with those who praised and defended Sulla, since the consular dignity was at stake; whereas you yourself have called forth this enmity.
[9] Namely, between Sulla and your father.
[10] That is, at the consular election. *In foro*, 'in a court of justice,' by the charge of bribery.

quibus non irascebamini, consulatum vobis eripiebant,[1] honori vestro repugnabant, et tamen id inviolata vestra amicitia, integro officio, veteri exemplo atque instituto optimi cujusque faciebant. Ego vero quibus ornamentis adversor tuis? aut cui dignitati vestrae repugno? Quid est, quod jam ab hoc expetas? honor ad patrem, insignia honoris[2] ad te delata sunt. Tu ornatus exuviis hujus venis ad eum lacerandum, quem interemisti; ego jacentem et spoliatum defendo et protego. Atque hic tu et reprehendis me, quia defendam, et irasceris. Ego autem non modo tibi non irascor, sed ne reprehendo quidem factum tuum. Te enim existimo tibi statuisse, quid faciendum putares, et satis idoneum officii judicem tui posuisse.[3]

18. At accusat[4] C. Cornelii filius, idemque valere debet ac si pater indicaret. O patrem Cornelium sapientem! qui quod praemii[5] solet esse in indicio, reliquerit,[6] quod turpitudinis[7] in confessione, id per accusationem filii susceperit. Sed quid est tandem, quod indicat per istum puerum[8] Cornelius? Si est causa mihi ignota, cum Hortensio communicata, respondeat Hortensius; sin, ut ais, illum comitatum[9] Autronii et Catilinae, cum in campo, consularibus comitiis,[10] quae a me habita sunt, caedem facere voluerunt: Autronium tum in campo vidimus;—sed quid dixi vidisse nos?

[1] 'They wished' or 'attempted to snatch away.' The other imperfects are to be translated in the same manner. The result is known; namely, *non eripuerunt*. See *Gram.* § 335, note 2.

[2] 'The lustre of this honour (the consulship) has passed over to you, the son.'

[3] *Posuisse*, equivalent to *constituisse:* 'I believe that you have set up yourself as the judge of your deeds and your duties.' Is to be taken ironically.

[4] The son of C. Cornelius acts as accuser along with Torquatus. Respecting C. Cornelius, see chaps. 2 and 6. *Indicaret* is equivalent to *accusaret*.

[5] The senate had promised rewards to persons giving information. Sallust, *Cat.* 30.

[6] The reward had consisted in the liberation of C. Cornelius.

[7] *Turpitudo*, 'baseness,' 'falsehood;' because he had dragged in Sulla, and at the same time had shown by his confession that he was acquainted with the criminal scheme, and thus denounced himself.

[8] *Puer* is here used contemptuously: 'a silly boy.'

[9] That is, *comites* or *satellites*.

[10] Which were held between the 21st of October and the 5th of November, B. C. 63, in the consulship of Cicero, who, by virtue of his office, presided at the election of the new consuls.

ego vidi: vos enim tum, judices, nihil laborabatis neque suspicabamini, ego tectus praesidio firmo amicorum Catilinae tum et Autronii copias et conatum repressi. Num quis est igitur, qui tum dicat in campum adspirasse[1] Sullam? Atqui si tum se cum Catilina societate sceleris conjunxerat, cur ab eo discedebat? cur cum Autronio non erat? cur in pari causa non paria signa reperiuntur criminis? Sed quoniam Cornelius ipse etiamnunc de indicando dubitat, ut dicitis, informat adhuc adumbratum[2] indicium filii, quid tandem de illa nocte[3] dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam nocte ea, quae consecuta est posterum diem[4] Nonas Novembres me consule, Catilinae denuntiatione[5] convenit? quae nox omnium temporum conjurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima. Tum Catilinae dies exeundi, tum ceteris manendi condicio, tum descriptio totam per urbem caedis atque incendiorum constituta est; tunc tuus pater, Corneli, id quod tandem aliquando confitetur, illam sibi officiosam[6] provinciam depoposcit, ut cum prima luce consulem salutatum veniret, intromissus meo more et jure amicitiae me in meo lectulo trucidaret.

19. Hoc tempore,[7] cum arderet acerrime conjuratio, cum Catilina egrederetur ad exercitum, Lentulus in urbe relinqueretur, Cassius incendiis, Cethegus caedi praeponeretur, Autronio ut occuparet Etruriam praescriberetur, cum omnia ordinarentur, instituerentur, pararentur; ubi fuit Sulla, Corneli? num Romae? Immo longe afuit; num in iis regionibus, quo se Catilina inferebat? Multo etiam longius. Num in agro Camerti,[8] Piceno, Gallico, quas oras maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat? Nihil vero minus. Fuit enim, ut jam ante dixi, Neapoli, fuit in ea parte Italiae,

[1] *Adspirasse*, equivalent to *venisse*.

[2] *Adumbratum*, the same as *inchoatum*, 'not yet executed,' 'only sketched;' an expression taken from the art of painting.

[3] Compare *in Cat.* i. 2 and 4.

[4] That is, *postridie Nonas*, according to which we should have to understand the night between the 6th and 7th; but see *in Cat.* i. 1. The mode of speaking is unusual. Ought not, perhaps, *posterum diem* to be omitted?

[5] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 27.

[6] *Officiosam* is used ironically. It was customary to inquire early in the morning after a person's health.

[7] Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 43.

[8] The *ager Camers* lay in Umbria. See Sallust, *Cat.* 42.

quae maxime ea suspicione caruit. Quid ergo indicat aut quid affert aut ipse Cornelius aut vos, qui ab eo haec mandata defertis? 'Gladiatores emptos esse Fausti simulatione[1] ad caedem ac tumultum.' Ita prorsus; interpositi[2] sunt gladiatores, quos testamento patris deberi videmus. 'Arrepta[3] est familia, quae si esset praetermissa,[4] posset alia familia Fausti munus praebere.' Utinam quidem haec ipsa[5] non modo iniquorum invidiae, sed aequorum exspectationi satisfacere posset! 'Properatum vehementer,[6] cum longe tempus muneris abesset.' Quasi vero tempus dandi muneris non valde appropinquaret. 'Nec opinante Fausto, cum is neque sciret[7] neque vellet, familia est comparata.' At litterae sunt Fausti, per quas ille precibus a P. Sulla petit, ut emat gladiatores, et ut hos ipsos[8] emat; neque solum ad Sullam missae, sed ad L. Caesarem,[9] Q. Pompeium, C. Memmium, quorum de sententia tota res gesta est. 'At[10] praefuit familiae' [Cornelius.] Jam si in paranda familia suspicio est nulla, quod praefuit nihil ad rem pertinet. 'Sed tamen munere servili[11] obtulit se ad ferramenta prospicienda;' praefuit vero nunquam; eaque res per Bellum, Fausti libertum, omni tempore administrata est.

[1] 'In the hypocritical manner of Faustus,' the son of the dictator Sulla, who, according to the wish of his father, was to engage gladiators for funeral games, but was charged with having engaged them not for games, but for murder and rapine.

[2] That is, *supposiți*, 'suborned,' 'forged.'

[3] *Arrepta*, 'hastily procured,' is said ironically, as afterwards *properatum vehementer*.

[4] *Praetermissa*, equivalent to *non empta*. To *munus* supply *gladiatorium*.

[5] *Haec ipsa*; namely, *familia*.

[6] To *properatum* supply *a P. Sulla*. This is an objection made by the accuser, stating that Sulla had hastened to procure the gladiators, in order to be able to make use of them in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Cicero refutes this objection by the words from *quasi* down to *appropinquaret*. The time fixed for these games by L. Sulla in his will had arrived just now, at the time of this accusation.

[7] Faustus Sulla happened to be in Campania.

[8] Those very gladiators whom Faustus had fixed upon, and who were now drawn into the accusation.

[9] L. Caesar was consul in B.C. 64. Q. Pompeius was a son of a daughter of L. Sulla, and C. Memmius was a stepson of P. Sulla. *Sententia* here is 'arrangement.'

[10] *At praefuit*, &c., supply *Sulla;* is another objection of the accuser, to which Cicero answers, *Jam si in*, &c.

[11] 'With the zeal of a slave,' whose duty it had been to take care of the *ferramenta*.

20. At enim Sitius est ab hoc in ulteriorem Hispaniam missus, ut eam provinciam perturbaret. Primum Sitius,[1] judices, L. Julio, C. Figulo consulibus[2] profectus est aliquanto ante furorem Catilinae et ante suspicionem hujus conjurationis; deinde est profectus non tum primum, sed cum in iisdem locis aliquanto ante[3] eadem de causa aliquot annos fuisset; ac profectus est non modo ob causam, sed etiam necessariam causam, magna ratione[4] cum Mauritaniae rege[5] contracta. Tum autem, illo profecto, Sulla procurante ejus rem et gerente, plurimis et pulcherrimis P. Sitii praediis venditis aes alienum ejusdem dissolutum est, ut, quae causa ceteros ad facinus impulit, cupiditas retinendae possessionis,[6] ea Sitio non fuerit praediis deminutis. Jam vero illud quam incredibile, quam absurdum, qui Romae caedem facere, qui hanc urbem inflammare vellet, eum familiarissimum suum dimittere ab se et amandare in ultimas terras! utrum quo[7] facilius Romae ea, quae conabatur, efficeret, si in Hispania turbatum esset? At haec ipsa[8] per se, sine ulla conjunctione agebantur. An in tantis rebus, tam novis consiliis, tam periculosis, tam turbulentis, hominem amantissimum sui, familiarissimum, conjunctissimum officiis, usu, consuetudine, dimittendum esse arbitraretur?[9] Veri simile non est, ut, quem in secundis rebus, quem in otio secum semper habuisset, hunc in adversis et in eo tumultu, quem ipse comparabat,[10] ab se dimitteret. Ipse autem Sitius (non enim mihi deserenda est causa amici veteris atque hospitis) is homo est aut ea familia ac disciplina, ut hoc credi possit, eum bellum rei publicae facere voluisse? ut, cujus pater, cum

[1] Respecting Sitius, see Sallust, *Cat.* 21.

[2] That is, in the year B. C. 64.

[3] For a more accurate account of the beginning, see Sallust, *Cat.* 17.

[4] 'A great money business.'

[5] This king's name was Hiempsal.

[6] When a property, though deeply in debt, was yet in the hands of the debtor, it was called *possessio.*

[7] *Utrum quo,* 'was it in order that?' *quo* being equivalent to *ut eo,* or *ut.*

[8] This conspiracy was formed at Rome itself, without any connections abroad, such as Spain; but it may also mean: the journey of Sitius had nothing to do with the affairs of Italy and Rome. Cicero himself gives this answer.

[9] The subject to *arbitraretur* is P. Sulla.

[10] The words *quem ipse comparabat* are ironical.

ceteri[1] deficerent, finitimi ac vicini, singulari exstiterit in rem publicam nostram officio et fide, is sibi nefarium bellum contra patriam suscipiendum putaret? cujus aes alienum videmus, judices, non libidine, sed negotii gerendi studio esse contractum, qui ita Romae debuit, ut in provinciis et in regnis maximae ei pecuniae deberentur, quas cum peteret, non commisit, ut sui procuratores[2] quidquam oneris absente se sustinerent; venire omnes suas possessiones et patrimonio se ornatissimo spoliari maluit quam ullam moram cuiquam fieri creditorum suorum. A quo quidem genere,[3] judices, ego nunquam timui, cum in illa rei publicae tempestate versarer. Illud erat genus hominum horribile et pertimescendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab iis membra divelli citius ac distrahi posse diceres. Sitius nunquam sibi cognationem cum praediis esse existimavit suis. Itaque se non modo ex suspicione tanti sceleris,[4] verum etiam ex omni hominum sermone non armis, sed patrimonio suo vindicavit.

21. Jam vero quod subjicit[5] Pompeianos esse a Sulla impulsos, ut ad istam conjurationem et ad hoc nefarium facinus accederent, id cujusmodi sit, intelligere non possum. An tibi Pompeiani conjurasse videntur? quis hoc unquam dixit? aut quae fuit istius rei vel minima suspicio? Dijunxit, inquit, eos a colonis, ut hoc dissidio ac dissensione facta, oppidum in sua potestate posset et Pompeianos habere. Primum omnis Pompeianorum colonorumque dissensio delata ad patronos[6] est, cum jam inveterasset ac multos annos esset exagitata; deinde ita a patronis res cognita est, ut nulla in re a ceterorum sententiis Sulla dissenserit; postremo

[1] In the Social War, from B. C. 91 to 88. The father of Sitius was a native of Nuceria.

[2] *Procuratores* are men intrusted with full power to act, who in a person's absence have to manage his affairs, and act as his representatives.

[3] 'From men like Sitius I have never feared anything.'

[4] That is, *conjurationis*, in contrast to those who are described by Cicero *in Cat.* ii. 8.

[5] The subject to *subjicit* is Torquatus, the accuser. The *Pompeiani* are the inhabitants of Pompeii, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. By the command of Sulla the dictator, P. Sulla had led thither a colony of veterans, and subsequently became the patronus of that colony.

[6] The *patroni* here are the *triumviri*, who had superintended the *establishment* of the colony, and one of whom was P. Sulla.

coloni ipsi sic intelligunt, non Pompeianos a Sulla magis quam sese esse defensos. Atque hoc, judices, ex hac frequentia colonorum, honestissimorum hominum, intelligere potestis, qui adsunt, laborant, hunc patronum, defensorem, custodem illius coloniae, si in omni fortuna atque in omni honore incolumem habere non potuerunt, in hoc tamen casu, quo afflictus jacet, per vos tutari conservareque cupiunt. Adsunt pari studio Pompeiani, qui ab illis[1] etiam in crimen vocantur; qui ita de ambulatione[2] et de suffragiis suis cum colonis dissenserunt, ut idem de communi salute sentirent. Ac ne haec quidem P. Sullae mihi videtur silentio praetereunda esse virtus, quod cum ab hoc illa colonia deducta sit et cum commoda colonorum a fortunis Pompeianorum rei publicae fortuna[3] dijunxerit, ita carus utrisque est atque jucundus, ut non alteros demovisse, sed utrosque constituisse videatur.

22. At enim et gladiatores et omnis ista vis rogationis Caeciliae[4] causa comparabantur. Atque in hoc loco in L. Caecilium, pudentissimum atque ornatissimum virum, vehementer invectus est; cujus ego de virtute et constantia, judices, tantum dico, talem hunc in ista rogatione, quam promulgavit non de tollenda, sed de levanda calamitate fratris sui, fuisse, ut consultum esse voluerit fratri, cum re publica pugnare noluerit, promulgarit impulsus amore fraterno, destiterit fratris auctoritate deductus. Atque in ea re per L. Caecilium Sulla accusatur, in qua re est uterque laudandus; primum Caecilius, qui id promulgarit, in quo fratris casum levare posset, quem, quia res judicatas[5] videbatur voluisse rescindere, ut desisteret, Sulla recte repre-

[1] That is, by the accusers of Sulla.

[2] 'Concerning the public walk.' The colony led to Pompeii must have been established in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. *De suffragiis*, 'concerning the right of voting.' The *ita* in this clause is equivalent to *tam parum*.

[3] *Fortunis—fortuna*, a play on the word *fortuna*: 'he separated the estates of the colonists from those of the Pompeians, for the good of the state.'

[4] The bill of the tribune Caecilius, a brother of P. Sulla, proposed that those who were found guilty of *ambitus*, and were, in consequence, neither allowed to be senators nor to sue for any state office, should be entitled to come forward as candidates for state offices. But the bill was rejected in Cicero's consulship, B.C. 63.

[5] Some years before P. Sulla himself had been found guilty of bribery.

hendit: status enim rei publicae maxime judicatis rebus continetur. Neque ego tantum fraterno amori dandum arbitror, ut quisquam de salute suorum consulat, communem relinquat. Nihil de judicio[1] ferebat, sed poenam ambitus auferebat, quae fuerat nuper superioribus legibus[2] constituta. Itaque hac rogatione non judicum sententiam, sed legis vitium[3] corrigebat. Nemo judicium reprehendit, cum de poena queritur, sed legem: damnatio enim est judicum, quae manebat, poena legis, quae levabatur. Noli igitur animos eorum ordinum, qui praesunt judiciis summa cum gravitate et dignitate, alienare a causa.[4] Nemo labefactare judicium est conatus, nihil est ejusmodi promulgatum; semper Caecilius in calamitate fratris sui judicum potestatem perpetuandam, legis acerbitatem mitigandam putavit.

23. Sed quid ego de hoc plura disputem? Dicerem fortasse, et facile et libenter dicerem. Si paullo etiam longius, quam finis quotidiani officii[5] postulat, pietas et fraternus amor L. Caecilium protulisset, implorarem sensus vestros,[6] uniuscujusque indulgentiam in suos testarer, peterem errato veniam [L. Caecilii] ex intimis vestris cogitationibus atque ex humanitate communi. Lex[7] dies fuit proposita pancos, ferri[8] coepta nunquam, deposita est in senatu. Kalendis Januariis[9] cum in Capitolium nos senatum convocassemus, nihil est actum prius, et id mandatu Sullae Q. Metellus[10] praetor se loqui dixit, Sullam illam rogationem de se nolle ferri. Ex illo tempore L. Caecilius multa e re publica egit;

[1] Caecilius did not attempt to question the justice of the verdict, but only to do away with the punishment.

[2] Namely, by the *lex Calpurnia de ambitu*, in B.C. 67.

[3] *Vitium* here is 'severity.'

[4] To *a causa* supply *P. Sullae;* namely, by making them believe that Caecilius, in conjunction with Sulla, wanted to oppose the verdict itself. *Eorum ordinum* refers to the senate, equites, and tribuni aerarii.

[5] 'The limit or extent of a close friendship.'

[6] 'Your feeling,' in opposition to the understanding, which judges according to the letter of the law. In like manner we must explain *ex intimis vestris cogitationibus*, 'from your innermost thoughts,' which spring from the heart, and are purely human.

[7] Namely, the *lex* of Caecilius. *Proposita*, equivalent to: *in publicum promulgata pependit.*

[8] To *ferri* supply *ad plebem. Deposita;* that is, *abjecta est.*

[9] Namely, of the year B.C. 63.

[10] This Q. Metellus was consul in B.C. 60.

agrariae legi,[1] quae tota a me reprehensa et abjecta est, intercessorem fore professus est, improbis largitionibus restitit, senatus auctoritatem nunquam impedivit, ita se gessit in tribunatu, ut, onere deposito[2] domestici officii, nihil postea nisi de rei publicae commodis cogitarit. Atque in ipsa rogatione ne per vim[3] quid ageretur, quis tandem nostrum Sullam aut Caecilium verebatur? nonne omnis ille terror, omnis seditionis timor atque opinio ex Autronii improbitate pendebat? Ejus voces, ejus minae ferebantur; ejus adspectus, concursatio, stipatio, greges hominum perditorum metum nobis seditionesque afferebant. Itaque P. Sulla, hoc importunissimo cum honoris[4] tum etiam calamitatis socio atque comite, et secundas fortunas amittere coactus est et in adversis sine ullo remedio atque allevamento permanere.

24. Hic tu epistolam meam saepe recitas, quam ego ad Cn. Pompeium[5] de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam quaeris, et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante[6] conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse dicis, Sullam in illa fuisse superiore conjuratione. Scilicet[7] is sum, qui existimem, Cn. Pisonem[8] et Catilinam et Vargunteium et Autronium nihil scelerate, nihil audacter ipsos per sese sine P. Sulla facere potuisse. De quo etiam si quis dubitasset antea, num, id quod tu arguis, cogitasset, interfecto patre

[1] This *agraria lex* was proposed by the tribune P. Servilius Rullus; but it was opposed (*reprehensa*) by Cicero, while Caecilius endeavoured to prevent its being carried by his intercession (*intercessor*).

[2] After having given up the idea of bringing forward that bill *de ambitu* in favour of P. Sulla.

[3] This is a reply to what was said in chap. 22.

[4] *Honoris* refers to the consulship, and *calamitatis* to the misfortune of losing the consulship.

[5] Cicero, in other places, also mentions this letter of his to Pompey; but it is no longer extant. Cicero wrote to Cn. Pompey after the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, while Pompey was still in Asia.

[6] That is, just at the time when Autronius and Sulla were excluded from the consulship. The conspiracy, therefore, properly speaking, began even the year before, in the consulship of Lepidus and Volcatius, B.C. 66.

[7] 'Yes, forsooth,' is to be taken ironically.

[8] Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 18.

tuo[1] consule descendere Kalendis Januariis cum lictoribus,[2] sustulisti hanc suspicionem, cum dixisti, hunc, ut Catilinam consulem efficeret, contra patrem tuum operas et manum comparasse. Quod si tibi ego confiteor, tu mihi concedas necesse est hunc, cum Catilinae suffragaretur, nihil de suo consulatu, quem judicio amiserat, per vim recuperando cogitavisse: neque enim istorum facinorum tantorum, tam atrocium crimen, judices, P. Sullae persona suscipit.[3]

25. Jam enim faciam, criminibus omnibus fere dissolutis, contra atque[4] in ceteris causis fieri solet, ut nunc denique de vita hominis ac de moribus dicam. Etenim de principio studuit animus occurrere[5] magnitudini criminis, satisfacere exspectationi hominum, de me aliquid ipso, qui accusatus eram,[6] dicere; nunc jam revocandi estis eo,[7] quo vos ipsa causa, etiam tacente me, cogit animos mentesque convertere. Omnibus in rebus, judices, quae graviores majoresque sunt, quid quisque voluerit, cogitarit, admiserit, non ex crimine, sed ex moribus ejus, qui arguitur, est ponderandum. Neque enim potest quisquam nostrum subito fingi neque cujusquam repente vita mutari aut natura converti. Circumspicite paullisper mentibus vestris, ut alia omittamus, hosce ipsos homines, qui huic affines sceleri fuerunt. Catilina contra rem publicam conjuravit. Cujus aures unquam hoc respuerunt conatum esse hominem usque a pueritia non solum intemperantia et scelere, sed etiam consuetudine et studio in omni flagitio, stupro, caede versatum?[8] quis eum contra patriam pugnantem perisse miratur, quem semper omnes ad civile latrocinium[9] natum

[1] The plan of murdering L. Torquatus and L. Cotta, on their entering upon their consulship on the 1st of January B.C. 65, had properly been formed by Catiline and Autronius.

[2] 'To descend (into the Forum) with the lictors' (as the sign that they had obtained the consulship).

[3] 'Such crimes cannot be imputed to the person and conduct of Sulla.'

[4] *Contra atque*, 'differently from,' or 'the contrary of.'

[5] *Occurrere*, 'to meet' or 'struggle against.'

[6] Compare chap. 29: *qui accusamur.*

[7] That is, to the life and conduct of P. Sulla.

[8] Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 15.

[9] This is the term applied to Catiline's war against his own country *in the* first Catilinarian speech.

putaverunt? Quis Lentuli societates cum indicibus,[1] quis insaniam libidinum, quis perversam atque impiam religionem recordatur, qui illum aut nefarie cogitasse aut stulte sperasse miretur? Quis de C. Cethego atque ejus in Hispaniam profectione[2] ac de volnere Q. Metelli Pii cogitat, cui non ad illius poenam carcer[3] aedificatus esse videatur? Omitto ceteros, ne sit infinitum. Tantum a vobis peto, ut taciti de omnibus, quos conjurasse cognitum est, cogitetis; intelligetis unumquemque illorum prius a sua vita quam nostra suspicione esse damnatum. Ipsum illum Autronium (quoniam ejus nomen finitimum maxime est hujus periculo et crimini) non sua ante acta vita convincit? semper audax, petulans, libidinosus; quem in stuprorum defensionibus non solum verbis uti improbissimis solitum esse scimus, verum etiam pugnis et calcibus; quem exturbare homines e possessionibus, caedem facere vicinorum, spoliare fana sociorum,[4] vi conatum et armis disturbare judicia, in bonis rebus omnes contemnere, in malis pugnare contra bonos, non rei publicae cedere, non fortunae ipsi succumbere.[5] Hujus si causa non manifestissimis rebus teneretur, tamen eum mores ipsius ac vita convincerent.

26. Agedum, conferte nunc cum illis vitam[6] P. Sullae, vobis populoque Romano notissimam, judices, et eam ante oculos vestros proponite. Ecquod hujus factum aut commissum[7] non dicam audacius, sed quod cuiquam paullo minus consideratum videretur? Factum quaero? Verbum ecquod unquam ex ore hujus excidit, unde quisquam posset offendi? At vero in illa gravi L. Sullae victoria turbulentaque quis P. Sulla mitior,[8] quis misericordior inventus est?

[1] 'With such accusers.' As to *impiam religionem*, comp. Cic. *in Cat.* iii. 4; Sallust, *Cat.* 47.

[2] Perhaps to Sertorius. This, and the following fact of Q. Metellus having been wounded, are otherwise unknown.

[3] Namely, in which Cethegus, with the four other conspirators, had been strangled; the prison was situated near the Forum, and was called Tullianum.

[4] It is not known where this sacrilege on temples was committed.

[5] 'Not to submit to his misfortune,' which had befallen him at his election to the consulship.

[6] *Cum illis vitam*, for *cum illorum (vita) vitam.*

[7] *Factum* and *commissum* are here used substantively.

[8] This is oratorical, for elsewhere Cicero blames Sulla for the very opposite conduct.

quam multorum hic vitam est a L. Sulla deprecatus? quam multi sunt summi homines et ornatissimi et nostri et equestris ordinis, quorum pro salute se hic Sullae obligavit? quos ego nominarem: neque enim ipsi nolunt et huic animo gratissimo adsunt; sed quia majus est beneficium, quam posse debet civis civi dare, ideo a vobis peto, ut quod potuit,[1] tempori tribuatis, quod fecit, ipsi. Quid reliquam constantiam vitae commemorem, dignitatem, liberalitatem, moderationem in privatis rebus, splendorem in publicis? quae ita a fortuna deformata[2] sunt, ut tamen a natura inchoata compareant. Quae domus, quae celebratio[3] quotidiana? quae familiaris dignitas? quae studia amicorum, quae ex quoque ordine multitudo? Haec diu multumque et multo labore quaesita una eripuit hora.[4] Accepit P. Sulla, judices, vehemens volnus et mortiferum, verumtamen ejusmodi, quod videretur ejus vita et natura accipere potuisse. Honestatis et dignitatis habuisse nimis magnam judicatus est cupiditatem; quam si nemo alius habuit in consulatu petendo, cupidior judicatus est hic fuisse quam ceteri; sin etiam in aliis nonnullis fuit iste consulatus amor, fortuna in hoc fuit fortasse gravior quam in ceteris.[5] Postea vero quis P. Sullam nisi maerentem, demissum afflictumque vidit? quis unquam est suspicatus hunc magis odio[6] quam pudore hominum adspectum lucemque vitare? Qui cum multa haberet invitamenta urbis et fori[7] propter summa studia amicorum, quae[8] tamen ei sola in malis restiterunt, afuit ab oculis vestris et, cum lege retineretur, ipse se exilio paene multavit. In hoc vos pudore, judices, et in hac vita tanto sceleri locum fuisse creditis?

[1] 'What he had it in his power to do.' *Quod fecit*, 'what he has done to his fellow-citizens in consequence of this power.'

[2] 'Only in so far overclouded by his misfortune (the loss of the consulship), that they still appear in their natural beauty.'

[3] *Celebratio*, 'visits by clients.'

[4] Namely, the hour in which Sulla was condemned.

[5] *Fortuna—gravior—ceteris*; this is smoothing over what Sulla did, and at the same time an insinuation against others, because it sounds as if nearly all were more or less guilty of bribery.

[6] As, for example, Catiline, Autronius, and others, burnt with anger at the failure of their schemes.

[7] 'Invitations to the city and Forum.'

[8] *Quae*: namely, *studia*, 'which attachments, notwithstanding (*tamen*) *his misfortune*, remained unshaken.'

27. Adspicite ipsum; contuemini os; conferte crimen cum vita; vitam ab initio ad hoc tempus explicatam cum crimine recognoscite. Mitto rem publicam, quae fuit semper Sullae carissima; hosne amicos, tales viros, tam cupidos sui, per quos res ejus secundae quondam erant ornatae, nunc sublevantur adversae, crudelissime perire voluit, ut cum Lentulo et Catilina et Cethego foedissimam vitam ac miserrimam, turpissima morte[1] proposita, degeret? Non cadit, non, inquam, cadit in hos mores, non in hunc pudorem, non in hanc vitam, non in hunc hominem ista suspicio; nova quaedam illa immanitas exorta est; incredibilis fuit ac singularis furor; ex multis ab adolescentia collectis perditorum hominum vitiis repente tanta ista importunitas inauditi sceleris exarsit. Nolite, judices, arbitrari, hominum illum impetum et conatum fuisse: neque enim ulla gens tam barbara aut tam immanis unquam fuit, in qua non modo tot,[2] sed unus tam crudelis hostis patriae sit inventus. Beluae quaedam illae ex portentis immanes ac ferae, forma hominum indutae, exstiterunt. Perspicite etiam atque etiam, judices;—nihil enim est, quod in hac causa dici possit vehementius;—penitus introspicite Catilinae, Autronii, Cethegi, Lentuli ceterorumque mentes. Quas vos in his libidines, quae flagitia, quas turpitudines, quantas audacias, quam incredibiles furores, quas notas scelerum, quae indicia parricidiorum, quantos acervos facinorum reperietis! Ex magnis et diuturnis et jam desperatis rei publicae morbis ista repente vis[3] erupit, ut, ea confecta et ejecta, convalescere aliquando et sanari civitas posset. Neque enim est quisquam, qui arbitretur, illis inclusis[4] in re publica pestibus, diutius haec stare potuisse. Itaque eos non ad perficiendum scelus, sed ad luendas rei publicae poenas Furiae[5] quaedam incitaverunt. In hunc igitur[6] gregem vos nunc P. Sullam, judices, ex his, qui cum hoc vivunt atque vixerunt, honestissimorum hominum gregibus rejicietis? ex hoc hominum

[1] 'The most ignominious death as the end of all his criminal efforts.'
[2] *Non modo tot;* that is, *non dicam tot,* 'I do not mean to say that so many.'
[3] *Vis* here is *vis mala, venenum,* and *morbus* is *pestis.*
[4] *Inclusis;* that is, *non confectis neque ejectis.*
[5] The Furies caused those diseases to break out, in order that they might be cured.
[6] 'Then, if you cast P. Sulla among this band of criminals.'

numero, ex hac familiari dignitate in impiorum partem atque in parricidarum coetum ac numerum transferetis? Ubi erit igitur illud fortissimum praesidium pudoris? quo in loco nobis vita ante acta proderit? quod ad tempus existimationis partae fructus reservabitur, si in extremo discrimine ac dimicatione fortunae deseret, si non aderit, si nihil adjuvabit?

28. Quaestiones[1] nobis servorum ac tormenta accusator minitatur; in quibus quamquam nihil periculi suspicamur, tamen illa tormenta gubernat dolor, moderatur natura cujusque tum animi, tum corporis, regit quaesitor,[2] flectit libido, corrumpit spes, infirmat metus, ut in tot rerum angustiis nihil veritati loci relinquatur. Vita P. Sullae torqueatur;[3] ex ea quaeratur, num quae occultetur libido, num quod lateat facinus, num quae crudelitas, num quae audacia. Nihil erroris erit in causa nec obscuritatis, judices, si a vobis vitae perpetuae[4] vox ea, quae gravissima debet esse, audietur. Nullum in hac causa testem timemus; nihil quemquam scire, nihil vidisse, nihil audisse arbitramur. Sed tamen, si nihil vos P. Sullae fortuna movet, judices, vestra moveat: vestra enim, qui cum summa elegantia atque integritate vixistis, hoc maxime interest, non ex libidine aut simultate aut levitate testium causas honestorum hominum ponderari, sed in magnis disquisitionibus repentinisque periculis vitam uniuscujusque esse testem. Quam vos, judices, nolite armis suis[5] spoliatam atque nudatam objicere invidiae, dedere suspicioni. Munite communem arcem bonorum, obstruite perfugia[6] improborum; valeat ad poenam et ad salutem vita plurimum, quam solam videtis ipsam ex vi sua naturaque facillime perspici, subito flecti fingique non posse.

[1] Comp. Sallust, *Cat.* 29, foll. The fact, however, that slaves gave their evidence in the Catilinarian conspiracy, was an unusual proceeding. It was otherwise resorted to only in cases of incest.

[2] Namely, by the questions which he puts. To *libido* supply *quaesitoris*.

[3] *Torqueatur* is used figuratively; 'let it be carefully searched' or 'scrutinised.'

[4] *Perpetuus* is here equivalent to *totus*.

[5] That is, *integritate sua*, 'of its purity,' or 'unblemished nature.'

[6] *Perfugia*, 'places of refuge,' 'hiding-places,' in which the wicked secure themselves either by false accusations or other hypocritical actions.

29. Quid vero? haec auctoritas[1] (semper enim de ea dicendum est; quamquam a me timide modiceque dicetur): quid, inquam, haec auctoritas nostra, qui a ceteris conjurationis causis[2] abstinuimus, P. Sullam defendimus, nihil hunc tandem juvabit? Grave est hoc dictum fortasse, judices; grave, si appetimus aliquid; si, cum ceteri de nobis silent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tacemus, grave; sed si laedimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, judices, ut nobis libertatem[3] retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem. Accusati sunt omnes uno nomine consulares,[4] ut jam videatur honoris amplissimi nomen plus invidiae quam dignitatis afferre. Adfuerunt, inquit, Catilinae illumque laudarunt. Nulla tum patebat, nulla erat cognita conjuratio; defendebant amicum, aderant supplici, vitae ejus turpitudinem in summis ejus periculis non insequebantur. Quin etiam parens tuus, Torquate, consul reo de pecuniis repetundis[5] Catilinae fuit advocatus, improbo homini, at supplici, fortasse audaci, at aliquando amico. Cui cum adfuit post delatam ad eum[6] primam illam conjurationem, indicavit se audisse aliquid, non credidisse. At idem[7] non adfuit alio in judicio,[8] cum adessent ceteri. Si postea cognorat ipse aliquid, quod in consulatu ignorasset, ignoscendum est iis, qui postea nihil audierunt; sin illa res prima valuit, non inveterata quam recens debuit esse gravior. Sed si tuus parens etiam in illa suspicione periculi sui tamen humanitate adductus advocationem hominis

[1] 'My authority' or 'influence,' which had been questioned by Torquatus.

[2] *Causae* here refers both to persons and points or questions connected with them; many points, however, have been brought forward in this speech.

[3] To *libertatem* supply *dicendi*. *Dignitas* here is the same as *auctoritas*: if we are not allowed to save P. Sulla by our simple support, our personal influence, and, as it were, by our mere name.

[4] For Torquatus had believed that the consulars had defended even Catiline, not to mention their now defending Sulla.

[5] This happened in B.C. 65, when Catiline returned from Africa, where he had been propraetor.

[6] It would have been more usual to say *ad se;* yet the use of *ejus, ei, eum*, &c. for *sui, sibi, se*, is not without examples.

[7] That is, L. Torquatus, the consul. To *ceteri* supply *consulares*.

[8] Catiline had been accused thrice: for violence towards Vestal virgins, for extortion, and for participation in the proscriptions and executions instituted by the dictator Sulla.

improbissimi sella curuli[1] atque ornamentis et suis et consulatus honestavit, quid est, quamobrem consulares, qui Catilinae adfuerunt, reprehendantur? At iidem[2] iis, qui ante hunc causam de conjuratione dixerunt, non adfuerunt. Tanto scelere[3] adstrictis hominibus statuerunt nihil a se adjumenti, nihil opis, nihil auxilii ferri oportere. Atque ut de eorum constantia atque animo in rem publicam dicam, quorum tacita gravitas et fides de unoquoque loquitur, neque cujusquam ornamenta orationis desiderat, potest dicere quisquam unquam meliores, fortiores, constantiores consulares fuisse quam iis temporibus et periculis, quibus paene oppressa est res publica? Quis non de communi salute apertissime, quis non fortissime, quis non constantissime sensit? Neque ego praecipue de consularibus disputo: nam haec et hominum ornatissimorum, qui praetores fuerunt, et universi senatus communis est laus, ut constet, post hominum memoriam nunquam in illo ordine plus virtutis, plus amoris in rem publicam, plus gravitatis fuisse. Sed quia sunt descripti[4] consulares, de his tantum mihi dicendum putavi, quod satis esset ad testandam omnium memoriam, neminem esse ex illo honoris gradu, qui non omni studio, virtute, auctoritate incubuerit ad rem publicam conservandam.

30. Sed quid? ego, qui Catilinam non laudavi, qui reo Catilinae consul non adfui,[5] qui testimonium de conjuratione dixi in alios, adeone vobis alienus a sanitate, adeo oblitus constantiae meae, adeo immemor rerum a me gestarum esse videor, ut, cum consul bellum gesserim cum conjuratis, nunc eorum ducem[6] servare cupiam et in animum inducam, cujus

[1] Surrounded with all the signs of consular power, or in a most solemn manner.

[2] Namely, *consulares*. A fresh objection: the same consulars, surely, did not come to the assistance of those who were accused before Sulla of having conspired against the state.

[3] Here begins Cicero's reply: Yes, they were actually guilty of so great a crime, and therefore people took care not to defend them; but the case of Sulla is different.

[4] *Descripti*, equivalent to *designati*, 'expressly mentioned.'

[5] As did, for example, L. Tubero: should I, who have never defended either Catiline or any other of the conspirators, have become so inconsistent and imprudent as now to defend P. Sulla, if he were an accomplice in that conspiracy? Should I defend him, if I thought him guilty?

[6] Thus he had been called by the accuser.

nuper ferrum rettuderim flammamque restinxerim, ejusdem nunc causam vitamque defendere? Si mediusfidius, judices, non me ipsa res publica meis laboribus et periculis conservata ad gravitatem animi et constantiam sua dignitate revocaret, tamen hoc natura est insitum, ut, quem timueris, quicum de vita fortunisque contenderis, cujus ex insidiis evaseris, hunc semper oderis. Sed cum agatur honos meus amplissimus,[1] gloria rerum gestarum singularis, cum quotiens quisquam[2] est in hoc scelere convictus, totiens renovetur memoria per me inventae salutis, ego sim tam demens, ego committam, ut ea, quae pro salute omnium gessi, casu magis et felicitate a me quam virtute et consilio gesta esse videantur? Quid ergo? hoc tibi sumis,[3] dicet fortasse quispiam, ut quia tu defenderis, innocens judicetur? Ego vero, judices, non modo mihi nihil assumo, in quo quispiam repugnet, sed etiam si quid ab omnibus conceditur, id reddo ac remitto.[4] Non in ea re publica versor, non iis temporibus meum caput obtuli pro patria periculis omnibus, non aut ita sunt exstincti, quos vici, aut ita grati, quos servavi, ut ego mihi plus appetere coner quam quantum omnes inimici invidique patiantur. Grave esse videtur, eum, qui investigarit conjurationem, qui patefecerit, qui oppresserit, cui senatus singularibus verbis gratias egerit, cui uni togato supplicationem decreverit, dicere in judicio: Non defenderem, si conjurasset. Non dico id, quod grave[5] est; dico illud, quod in his causis conjurationis non auctoritati assumam, sed pudori meo: Ego ille conjurationis investigator atque ultor certe non defenderem Sullam, si conjurasse arbitrarer. Ego, judices, de tantis omnium periculis cum quaererem omnia, multa audirem, crederem non omnia, dico hoc, quod initio dixi, nullius indicio, nullius nuntio, nullius suspicione, nullius litteris de P. Sulla rem ullam ad me esse delatam.

[1] Because I have been consul.

[2] *Quisquam*, 'whosoever,' is used in negative sentences, and also in those general expressions which might have been expressed in a negative form.

[3] *Tibi sumis*, the same as *arrogas* or *assumis*, as immediately below.

[4] 'Even if all thought that they must yield to my authority, I would not allow it.'

[5] *Grave*, 'of weight,' 'of importance.'

31. Quamobrem vos, dii patrii[1] ac penates, qui huic urbi atque huic rei publicae praesidetis, qui hoc imperium, qui hanc libertatem populi Romani, qui haec tecta atque templa me consule vestro numine auxilioque servastis, testor integro me animo ac libero P. Sullae causam defendere; nullum a me sciente facinus occultari, nullum scelus susceptum contra salutem omnium defendi ac tegi. Nihil de hoc consul comperi, nihil suspicatus sum, nihil audivi. Itaque idem ego ille, qui vehemens in alios, qui inexorabilis in ceteros esse visus sum, persolvi patriae, quod debui; reliqua jam a me meae perpetuae consuetudini naturaeque debentur. Tam sum misericors, judices, quam vos, tam mitis quam qui lenissimus. In quo vehemens fui vobiscum, nihil feci nisi coactus; rei publicae praecipitanti subveni; patriam demersam extuli; misericordia civium adducti tum fuimus tam vehementes quam necesse fuit. Salus esset amissa omnium una nocte, nisi esset severitas illa suscepta. Sed ut ad sceleratorum poenam amore rei publicae sum adductus, sic ad salutem innocentium voluntate deducor. Nihil video esse in hoc P. Sulla, judices, odio dignum, misericordia digna multa. Neque enim nunc propulsandae calamitatis[2] suae causa supplex ad vos, judices, confugit, sed ne qua generi ac nomini suo nota nefariae turpitudinis inuratur.[3] Nam ipse quidem si erit vestro judicio liberatus, quae habet ornamenta, quae solatia reliquae vitae, quibus laetari ac perfrui possit? Domus erit, credo, exornata; aperientur[4] majorum imagines; ipse ornatum ac vestitum pristinum recuperabit.[5] Omnia, judices, haec amissa sunt; omnia generis, nominis, honoris insignia atque ornamenta unius judicii calamitate occiderunt. Sed ne exstinctor patriae, ne proditor, ne hostis appelletur, ne hanc labem tanti sceleris in familia relinquat, id laborat, id metuit;

[1] 'The gods of our fathers,' the greatest protectors of Rome.

[2] 'For the purpose of averting the calamity of being condemned.'

[3] Comp. Cic. *in Cat.* i. 6.

[4] The waxen images of ancestors were kept in a closet, and on festive or joyous occasions they were exhibited (*aperire*), and adorned with garlands.

[5] First of all, the *toga candida*, for accused persons wore the *toga sordida*; but Cicero is thinking of still more, such as the senatorial robe, which Sulla had lost by the lex Calpurnia. This is clear from the following words down to *occiderunt*; for all this was lost by the condemnation.

ne denique hic miser[1] conjurati et conscelerati et proditoris filius nominetur; huic puero, qui est ei vita sua multo carior, metuit, cui honoris integros[2] fructus non sit traditurus, ne aeternam memoriam dedecoris relinquat. Hic vos orat, judices, parvus, ut se aliquando, si non integra fortuna, at ut afflicta patri suo gratulari sinatis; huic misero notiora[3] sunt itinera judiciorum et fori quam campi et disciplinarum. Non jam de vita P. Sullae, judices, sed de sepultura contenditur. Vita erepta est superiore judicio; nunc, ne corpus ejiciatur,[4] laboramus. Quid enim est huic reliqui, quod eum in hac vita teneat? aut quid est, quamobrem haec cuiquam vita videatur?

32. Nuper[5] is homo fuit in civitate P. Sulla, ut nemo ei se neque honore neque gratia neque fortunis anteferret; nunc spoliatus omni dignitate, quae erepta sunt non repetit; quod fortuna in malis reliqui fecit, ut cum parente, cum liberis, cum fratre, cum his necessariis lugere suam calamitatem liceat, id sibi ne eripiatis, vos, judices, obtestatur. Te ipsum jam, Torquate, expletum hujus miseriis esse par erat; etsi nihil aliud Sullae nisi consulatum abstulissetis, tamen eo contentos vos esse oportebat: honoris enim contentio vos ad causam, non inimicitiae deduxerunt. Sed cum huic omnia cum honore detracta sint, cum in hac fortuna miserrima ac luctuosissima destitutus sit, quid est, quod expetas amplius? lucisne hanc usuram eripere vis, plenam lacrimarum atque maeroris, in qua cum maximo cruciatu ac dolore retinetur? Libenter reddiderit[6] adempta ignominia foedissimi criminis. An vero inimicum ut expellas? cujus ex miseriis, si esses crudelissimus, videndo fructum majorem caperes quam audiendo. O miserum et infelicem illum diem, quo consul omnibus centuriis[7] P. Sulla renuntiatus est! O falsam spem!

[1] That is, the son of Sulla, who had been brought into the court to excite compassion.

[2] On account of the previous condemnation for bribery.

[3] An oratorical exaggeration, as if he had been oftener obliged to be in the Forum at his father's trials than in the Campus Martius, the place of exercise for young Romans, and at school.

[4] 'That he may not be sent into exile.'

[5] *Nuper* here is about three years ago, before Sulla lost his consulship.

[6] To *reddiderit* supply *hanc lucem* or *lucis usuram*. *Reddiderit* is stronger than *reddet*.

[7] Compare *pro leg. Man.* i.

O volucrem fortunam! O caecam cupiditatem! O praeposteram gratulationem! quam cito illa omnia ex laetitia et voluptate ad luctum et lacrimas reciderunt; ut qui paullo ante consul designatus fuisset, repente nullum vestigium retineret pristinae dignitatis! Quid enim erat mali, quod huic spoliato fama, honore, fortunis,[1] deesse videretur? aut cui novae calamitati locus ullus relictus esset? Urget eadem fortuna, quae coepit; repperit novum maerorem; non patitur, hominem calamitosum uno modo afflictum uno in luctu perire.

33. Sed jam impedior egomet, judices, dolore animi, ne de hujus miseria plura dicam. Vestrae sunt jam partes,[2] judices; in vestra mansuetudine atque humanitate causam totam repono; vos, rejectione interposita,[3] nihil suspicantibus nobis, repentini in nos judices[4] consedistis, ab accusatoribus delecti ad spem acerbitatis, a fortuna nobis ad praesidium innocentiae constituti. Ut ego quid de me populus Romanus existimaret, quia severus in improbos fueram, laboravi et quae prima innocentis mihi defensio est oblata, suscepi, sic vos severitatem judiciorum, quae per hos menses in homines audacissimos facta sunt, lenitate ac misericordia mitigate. Hoc cum a vobis impetrare causa ipsa debet, tum est vestri animi atque virtutis declarare, non esse eos vos, ad quos potissimum interposita rejectione, devenire convenerit.[5] In quo ego, vos, judices, quantum meus in vos amor postulat, tantum hortor, ut communi studio, quoniam in re publica conjuncti sumus, mansuetudine et misericordia nostra falsam a nobis[6] crudelitatis famam repellamus.

[1] Besides his loss of the consulship, he had also been fined.

[2] 'You, judges, must now take up my part.'

[3] Sulla, like the other Catilinarians, had been accused *de vi*. In such a case, the accuser appointed the judges, but the accused had rejected several of them; and the rest, perhaps together with those appointed in place of the rejected, formed the court. *Rejectionem interponere* therefore is, 'to claim the rejection of (or, to use an English law-phrase, 'to challenge') certain judges.'

[4] *Judices* here is the nominative.

[5] On whose severity and inexorable character the plaintiff might rely, after the others had already been rejected by the defendant.

[6] That we are not personally cruel, but only serve the good of the state with earnestness and strictness.

ORATIO PRO Q. LIGARIO.

In the beginning of the year B. C. 50, Q. Ligarius had gone to Africa (the territory of Carthage) as legate of the praetor C. Considius Longus, and having made himself popular with all (*civibus et sociis*), he became, on the withdrawal of Considius, provisional governor and commander of the province. At that moment the war between Caesar and Pompey broke out, and the inhabitants of the province of Africa, most of whom belonged to the party of Pompey, called upon Q. Ligarius to put himself at their head. Ligarius refused, as Cicero explains it, for the purpose of remaining neutral; and it fortunately happened that P. Atius Varus, a decided Pompeian, who had just been defeated by the troops of Caesar at Auximum in Picenum, arrived in Africa, with a view to undertake the supreme command in that province against Caesar. In this he succeeded easily enough, and the more so, as he was sufficiently known in the province, having been governor of it a few years before, in B. C. 51. Q. Ligarius remained under him in his former capacity of legate, and resided at Utica. But soon after, there arrived at Utica L. Aelius Tubero, the lawful successor of C. Considius, who had received Africa for his province by lot; but he was not admitted either at Utica or in any other part of Africa, and was not even allowed to put on shore his sick son, Q. Tubero, the accuser of Ligarius. It may be that Q. Ligarius, who was staying at Utica, carried into effect this harsh proceeding of Varus against the Tuberos. The latter then went to Pompey himself, and after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalus (B. C. 48), they were pardoned by the victorious Caesar. Ligarius still remained in Africa with the Pompeian party, which offered such a desperate resistance to Caesar, that, after their subjugation, he felt little inclined to extend to them the pardon which he had granted to the other Pompeians. Yet he allowed Ligarius to live, though without permitting him to return to Italy. Ligarius, with many other Pompeians, remained in exile in Africa, although his relations and friends exerted their influence with Caesar to allow him to return. Now, in order to render this return for ever impossible, Q. Tubero came forward with an accusation against Ligarius, in which he charged him with *vis*—that is, with violent and unlawful resistance to Caesar. It is not improbable that Q.

Tubero was led to this step by the ill treatment he himself had experienced on attempting to land in Africa; and Cicero, in fact, views the matter in this light; for he tells him plainly that he was not concerned about the offence committed against Caesar, but about the insult offered to himself. (See chap. 10.) Cicero's defence is particularly successful by his skilfully avoiding to mention the most important point of the accusation; namely, the obstinate resistance of Q. Ligarius to Caesar, by describing Ligarius' residence in Africa as a simple and undoubted fact indeed, but as an absolute necessity; by putting the Tuberos on a level with Ligarius, and as standing in need of the same generosity on the part of Caesar; and lastly, by appealing again and again to the magnanimity and mercy of Caesar, which had been shown to the orator himself, to the Tuberos, and to many others. The whole oration breathes such a freshness, the principal fact of the accusation is evaded with such a happy irony, and the opponents of his client are so successfully and completely beaten by this same irony, and the bitter insinuations which are stealthily levelled at them, that the speech for Ligarius is justly considered as one of the most worthy of admiration. Caesar himself, however he may have felt towards Ligarius, pardoned him, and allowed him to return to Rome. Ligarius repaid this generous act of Caesar with ingratitude, for soon after, he joined the conspiracy against his benefactor. During the terrorism of the period of the Triumvirate he died a violent death, like most of the conspirators.

Cicero delivered this speech in the Forum in the presence of Caesar, B. C. 46: his client was of course not present.

NOVUM crimen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem inauditum propinquus meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse;[1] idque C. Pansa,[2] praestanti vir ingenio, fretus fortasse familiaritate ea, quae est ei tecum, ausus est confiteri. Itaque, quo me vertam, nescio. Paratus enim veneram, cum tu id neque per te scires[3] neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignoratione tua ad hominis miseri salutem

[1] A new and hitherto unheard-of crime—that Q. Ligarius has been in Africa. The irony with which this oration begins, consists in the truth and the trifling nature of the fact itself. The whole crime with which Ligarius can be charged is his residence in Africa, and to take this as the ground for an accusation, is certainly very *novum et inauditum*. L. Aelius Tubero, the father of the accuser, was connected with Cicero by marriage, whence Cicero calls him *propinquus meus*.

[2] C. Pansa was Caesar's intimate friend, and consul with A. Hirtius, in B. C. 43; he was wounded in the war of Mutina, and died in the neighbourhood of Bologna.

[3] On account of its insignificance.

abuterer.[1] Sed quoniam diligentia inimici investigatum est, quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor; praesertim cum meus necessarius Pansa fecerit, ut id integrum[2] jam non esset: omissaque controversia,[3] omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conservati, cum a te non liberationem culpae,[4] sed errati veniam impetravissent. Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum: sed tamen hoc confitentem, se in ea parte fuisse, qua te, qua virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto[5] confiteamini necesse est, quam Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, cum esset nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam cum C. Considio[6] profectus est; qua in legatione et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens Considius provincia satisfacere hominibus non posset, si quemquam alium provinciae praefecisset. Itaque Ligarius, cum diu recusans nihil profecisset, provinciam accepit invitus;[7] cui sic praefuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas ac fides. Bellum[8] subito exarsit: quod, qui erant in Africa, ante audierunt geri quam parari. Quo audito, partim cupiditate inconsiderata, partim caeco quodam timore, primo salutis, post etiam studii sui quaerebant[9] aliquem ducem; cum Ligarius domum spectans,[10] ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim P. Atius Varus,[11] qui praetor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam venit:[12] ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille non mediocri cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium

[1] With a view, perhaps, to deny the fact.

[2] 'That this was no longer entire' or 'in my power;' namely, my wish to settle the matter by denying the fact.

[3] *Controversia*, 'the point of accusation.'

[4] *Culpae;* namely, of having been in Africa.

[5] 'Concerning your own crime,' who have been in Africa as well as Ligarius.

[6] C. Considius was propraetor in Africa in B. C. 50.

[7] Ligarius is said to have undertaken the administration of the province *invitus*, because the office ought properly to have devolved upon the quaestor of Considius.

[8] That is, the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, in B. C. 50.

[9] The subject to *quaerebant* is *cives et socii*.

[10] 'Longing for home and peace,' not for war.

[11] P. Atius Varus had been praetor in Africa in B. C. 51; hence the pluperfect *obtinuerat*.

[12] He went to Utica from fear of Caesar.

esse potuit, quod ad privatum clamore multitudinis imperitae, nullo publico consilio[1] deferebatur. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paullum adventu Vari conquievit.

2. Adhuc,[2] C. Caesar, Q. Ligarius omni culpa vacat. Domo est egressus non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli: legatus in pace profectus, in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit, ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet offendere: num igitur remansio? Multo minus; nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem,[3] remansio necessitatem etiam honestam.[4] Ergo haec duo tempora carent crimine: unum, cum est legatus profectus; alterum, cum efflagitatus a provincia, praepositus Africae est. Tertium tempus est, quo post adventum Vari[5] in Africa restitit: quod si est criminosum, necessitatis[6] crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille, si potuisset ullo modo evadere, Uticae quam Romae, cum P. Atio quam cum concordissimis fratribus, cum alienis esse quam cum suis maluisset? Cum ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic aequo animo esse potuit belli discidio distractus a fratribus? Nullum igitur habes, Caesar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienae a te voluntatis. Cujus ego causam, animadverte, quaeso, qua fide defendam: prodo meam.[7] O clementiam admirabilem atque omnium laude, praedicatione, litteris monumentisque decorandam![8] M.

[1] The *publico consilio* here is the same as *ex senatus consulto et lege curiata*, for the governors of provinces had to be confirmed by the curiae.

[2] *Adhuc*, 'up to this point;' namely, in the events related by me.

[3] That is, 'evil' or 'illegal.'

[4] Because the inhabitants preferred him to all others; he was obliged to yield to their wish, which honoured him.

[5] On the arrival of Varus, his provisional administration ceased; for Varus, without being praetor, or having the right to do so, undertook the supreme command in the province.

[6] The war obliging him to remain at Utica.

[7] To *meam* supply *causam*; 'I risk my cause,' 'I expose myself.' *Prodere alicujus causam*, 'to conduct any one's case badly,' or 'to spoil it.'

[8] This exclamation is ambiguous; it is evidently intended to refer to the all-powerful Caesar; but as there is no *tuam*, it may also be referred to Cicero's own memorable sacrifice which he makes for Ligarius. *Praedicatio*, 'praise;' *litterae*, 'written records;' *monumenta*, 'monuments of stone or metal.'

Cicero apud te defendit alium in ea voluntate non fuisse, in qua se ipsum confitetur fuisse, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit nec, quid tibi de alio audienti de se ipso occurrat, reformidat.

3. Vide, quam non reformidem! vide, quanta lux liberalitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te[1] dicenti oboriatur! Quantum potero, voce contendam, ut hoc populus Romanus exaudiat. Suscepto bello,[2] Caesar, gesto etiam ex parte magna, nulla vi coactus, judicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum,[3] quae erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? Nempe apud eum, qui, cum hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, rei publicae reddidit:[4] qui ad me ex Aegypto[5] litteras misit, ut essem idem, qui fuissem: qui me, cum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse alterum[6] passus est: a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansa mihi hunc nuntium perferente, concessos fasces laureatos[7] tenui, quoad tenendos putavi: qui mihi tum denique se salutem putavit reddere, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset. Vide, quaeso, Tubero, ut, qui de meo facto non dubitem, de Ligarii audeam dicere.[8] Atque haec propterea de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, cum de se eadem dicerem, ignosceret; cujus ego industriae gloriaeque[9] faveo vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quod ejus ingenio studiisque delector, vel quod laudem adolescentis propinqui existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. Sed hoc quaero: quis

[1] *Apud te*, 'in your presence.'

[2] Namely, the civil war; *gesto*, after Pompey had quitted Italy.

[3] Namely, to Pompey in Greece, in B. C. 48.

[4] 'Restored me to the state,' though he might have treated me as his enemy very differently.

[5] Whither he had followed Pompey, and where he had to carry on the Alexandrine War, in B. C. 47.

[6] Supply *imperatorem*, at least nominally.

[7] 'The fasces adorned with laurel.' Cicero had carried on, in B.C. 51, a successful war in Cilicia against the Parthians; his soldiers had saluted him with the title of *imperator*, and the senate had granted him the honour of a triumph. As, however, the disturbances of the time did not allow him to celebrate the triumph, Cicero retained these *fasces laureati*, which belonged to an *imperator*, and Caesar allowed him to do so.

[8] 'Look (consider) how I, who do not deny my own offence, undertake to discuss (that is, deny) that of Ligarius,' for to name the offence of Ligarius is at once a denial of it.

[9] *Gloria* here is 'love of fame.'

putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa? Nempe is, qui et ipse in eadem Africa esse voluit et prohibitum se a Ligario queritur et certe contra ipsum Caesarem est congressus armatus. Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quae tua mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgeo; commoveri videtur adolescens:[1] ad me revertar; iisdem in armis fui.[2]

4. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero, nisi ut, quod hic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio? Atque in hac causa nonnihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam,[3] sed multo magis patris tui prudentiam desidero; quod homo cum ingenio, tum etiam doctrina excellens genus hoc causae quod esset, non viderit: nam, si vidisset, quovis profecto quam isto modo a te agi maluisset. Arguis fatentem; non est satis: accusas eum, qui causam habet aut, ut ego dico, meliorem quam tu: aut, ut tu vis, parem. Haec admirabilia:[4] sed prodigii simile est, quod dicam. Non habet eam vim[5] ista accusatio, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur, sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo. Externi isti mores usque ad sanguinem incitari odio, aut levium Graecorum aut immanium barbarorum. Nam quid agis aliud? Romae ne sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho, avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patria? Num est? num potest magis carere his omnibus, quam caret? Italia prohibetur, exsulat.[6] Non tu ergo hunc patria privare, qua caret, sed vita vis. At istud ne apud eum

[1] The impression which Cicero by this address and these questions produced upon the audience, and especially upon Tubero and Caesar, is often alluded to by the ancients.

[2] 'I, too, was one of the partisans of Pompey.' Cicero did not take part in the battle of Pharsalus, being bodily unfit for severe military service.

[3] *Etiam tuam*, 'yours too,' or 'yours indeed.'

[4] *Admirabilia*, here is the same as παράδοξα, 'strange,' 'paradoxical.'

[5] *Vis*, 'intention,' 'object.'

[6] From fear of Caesar, Ligarius remained at Utica in voluntary exile.

quidem dictatorem,[1] qui omnes, quos oderat, morte multabat, quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante; praemiis etiam invitabat;[2] quae tamen crudelitas ab hoc eodem[3] aliquot annis post, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

5. Ego vero istud[4] non postulo, inquies. Ita, mehercule, existimo, Tubero. Novi enim te, novi patrem, novi domum nomenque vestrum; studia generis[5] ac familiae vestrae virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinae, plurimarum artium atque optimarum nota mihi sunt. Itaque certo scio vos non petere sanguinem. Sed parum attenditis. Res enim eo spectat, ut ea poena,[6] in qua adhuc Q. Ligarius sit, non videamini esse contenti. Quae est igitur alia praeter mortem? Si enim est in exilio, sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur? Hoc vero multo acerbius multoque durius. Quod nos [domi[7]] petimus precibus, lacrimis, strati ad pedes, non tam nostrae causae fidentes quam hujus humanitati, id ne impetremus, pugnabis? et in nostrum fletum irrumpes? et nos jacentes ad pedes[8] supplicum voce prohibebis? Si, cum hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus et, ut spero, non frustra fecimus, tu repente irrupisses et clamare coepisses: 'C. Caesar, cave ignoscas, cave te fratrum pro fratris salute obsecrantium misereatur;[9] nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi petimus, id a te in foro oppugnari? te in tali miseria multorum perfugium

[1] Namely, L. Cornelius Sulla. No one ventured to propose to Sulla to put a man to death, because he himself sacrificed so many of his own accord.

[2] By promising rewards, he invited persons to murder. Two talents were offered for the head of a proscribed person, and the number of victims was enormous—4000 citizens and 2000 senators and equites being murdered in this manner.

[3] That is, by Caesar. Seventeen years after Sulla's dictatorship, in B. C. 64, Caesar, in the capacity of aedile, instituted an investigation into the proceedings of the assassins (*quaestio inter sicarios*), and extended his inquiries to those who had been hired with money from the public treasury to murder the proscribed.

[4] That is, *mortem Ligarii*.

[5] *Generis;* that is, *gentis Aeliae. Familiae;* namely, of the Tuberos, who belonged to the Aelia gens.

[6] The *poena* here mentioned is the exile at Utica.

[7] *Domi* may be well retained here as the opposite to *exilio*, and signifies 'at home,' 'at Rome.'

[8] To *pedes* supply *Caesaris*.

[9] *Misereatur*, an obsolete and rare form for *misereat*.

misericordiae[1] tollere? Dicam plane, Caesar, quod sentio. Si in hac tanta tua fortuna lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te,[2] per te, inquam, obtines (intelligo, quid loquar), acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria.[3] Quam multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, cum etiam de victis reperiantur? quam multi, qui, cum a te ignosci nemini vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, cum etiam ii, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te esse in alios misericordem? Quodsi probare Caesari possemus[4] in Africa Ligarium omnino non fuisse; si honesto et misericordi mendacio saluti civi calamitoso esse vellemus, tamen hominis non esset in tanto discrimine et periculo civis refellere et redarguere[5] nostrum mendacium: et, si esset alicujus, ejus certe non esset, qui in eadem causa et fortuna fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errare Caesarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tunc diceres:[6] 'Caesar, cave credas: fuit in Africa; tulit arma contra te.' Nunc quid dicis? 'Cave ignoscas.' Haec nec hominis nec ad hominem vox est: qua qui apud te, C. Caesar, utitur, suam citius abjiciet humanitatem, quam extorquebit tuam.

6. Ac primus aditus[7] et postulatio Tuberonis haec, ut opinor, fuit, velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non dubito, quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio quisquam vel quod is, qui in eadem causa fuisset,[8] vel quidnam novi sceleris afferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? Isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; alii timorem; qui durius, spem,[9] cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem: scelus praeter te adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali[10] quaeritur, fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse videtur et improvidas[11] hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo

[1] 'The refuge of compassion;' that is, the Forum.
[2] 'Through yourself,' without the interposition of others.
[3] Namely, the victory of Pharsalus.
[4] For the whole affair had been unknown to Caesar.
[5] 'To dispute and to refute.'
[6] Namely, *si nolles Caesarem errare.*
[7] *Aditus*, 'attack,' and *postulatio*, 'declaration.'
[8] That is, Tubero.
[9] *Spem*, and the following substantives, describe the relation of the two parties, especially the feelings of the Pompeians towards Caesar.
[10] 'Of my own misfortune and of that of all the Pompeians.'
[11] *Improvidus*, 'short-sighted.'

mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. Liceat esse miseros; quamquam hoc victore esse non possumus: sed non loquor de nobis; de illis loquor, qui occiderunt.[1] Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris vero crimine, furoris, parricidii liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Caesar, audivit? aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt nisi a te contumeliam[2] propulsare? quid egit tuus ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur et dignitatem tuam? Quid? tu, cum pacem esse cupiebas,[3] idne agebas, ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret? Mihi vero, Caesar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certe non viderentur, si me ut sceleratum a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de re publica bene meritus esses, cum tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Caesar, initio, non bellum; neque hostile odium, sed civile dissidium; utrisque cupientibus[4] rem publicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum[5] dignitas erat paene par; non par fortasse eorum, qui sequebantur:[6] causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utraque parte, quod probari posset: nunc melior ea judicanda est, quam etiam dii adjuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua, quis non eam victoriam probet, in qua occiderit nemo nisi armatus?[7]

7. Sed, ut omittam communem causam,[8] veniamus ad

[1] 'Who have fallen.' Cicero wants to clear the dead, especially Cn. Pompey, from the charge of their being criminals, it being then the more easy for the living to exculpate themselves.

[2] The insult offered to Caesar, by demanding of him to disband his army.

[3] 'When you desired to obtain peace (namely, previous to his passing the Rubicon), did you do so with a view to ally yourself with traitors or with honourable citizens?' The answer is: with honourable citizens, and accordingly Pompey was not a *sceleratus*, nor were his followers.

[4] The same as *utroque cupiente;* the plural, however, is not unusual. The two leaders, in reality, aimed at sovereign power: the safety of the state was not the object of their dispute.

[5] Namely, *Caesaris et Pompeii.*

[6] The Pompeians were inferior to the Caesarians, although Pompey was supported by the senate, and Caesar by the people.

[7] That is, in open and honourable war, whereas Sulla had ordered many thousands of unarmed citizens to be murdered.

[8] 'The cause or guilt of all the Pompeians.' Cicero now enters more particularly upon the relations of Ligarius and Tubero.

nostram, utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africa exire, an vos in Africam non venire? Poteramusne, inquies, cum senatus idem censuisset? Si me consulis, nullo modo. Sed tamen Ligarium senatus item legaverat. Atque ille eo tempore[1] paruit, cum parere senatui necesse erat: vos tum paruistis, cum paruit nemo, qui noluit. Reprehendo igitur? Minime vero: neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi, nomini, familiae, disciplinae. Sed hoc non concedo, ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis. Tuberonis sors[2] conjecta est ex senatus consulto, cum ipse non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat excusare. Haec ego novi propter omnes necessitudines, quae mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone. Domi una eruditi, militiae[3] contubernales, post affines, in omni denique vita familiares: magnum etiam vinculum, quod iisdem studiis semper usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse: sed ita quidam[4] agebat, ita rei publicae sanctissimum nomen opponebat, ut etiamsi aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset. Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri vel potius paruit. Una est profectus cum iis, quorum erat una causa;[5] tardius iter fecit. Itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam.[6] Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur vel ira potius: nam, si crimen est ullum voluisse, non minus magnum est vos Africam, arcem[7] omnium provinciarum, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse quam aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere dicebat; fasces certe habebat. Sed quoquo modo

[1] That is, before the outbreak of the civil war.

[2] *Sors*, 'lot.' The names of those who were to be sent as governors into the provinces were thrown into an urn, and drawn out by a boy. L. Tubero obtained his lot by a previous decree of the senate.

[3] Namely, in the Social War, under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, B. C. 89.

[4] Cicero intentionally mentions no one, in order to give no offence. Some think of Pompey, others of M. Cato, and others again of M. Marcellus, and from chap. 12, it seems that the last may actually be alluded to, and to him accordingly would apply the expression *amplissimi viri* below.

[5] He set out at the same time with those to whom, as to him, provinces had been assigned.

[6] Namely, by Atius Varus.

[7] *Arx* here is, 'the place most difficult to conquer.' *Natam ad bellum* seems to be said with reference to the great Punic Wars.

se illud habet, haec querela vestra quid valet? 'Recepti in provinciam non sumus.' Quid si essetis? Caesarine eam traditurí fuistis, an contra Caesarem retenturi?[1]

8. Vide, quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis tua liberalitas det vel potius audaciae. Si responderit Tubero Africam, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fuisse, non dubitabo apud ipsum te, cujus id eum facere interfuit,[2] gravissimis verbis ejus consilium[3] reprehendere. Non enim si tibi ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata. Sed jam hoc totum omitto; non tam ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures, quam ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturus fuisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in Africam provinciam, unam ex omnibus huic victoriae[4] maxime infestam, in qua erat rex potentissimus,[5] inimicus huic causae, aliena voluntas, conventus firmi atque magni.[6] Quaero, quid facturi fuistis. Quamquam, quid facturi fueritis, dubitem, cum videam, quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis in provincia vestra pedem ponere, et prohibiti summa cum injuria. Quomodo id tulistis? Acceptae injuriae querelam ad quem detulistis? Nempe ad eum, cujus auctoritatem secuti in societatem belli veneratis. Quodsi Caesaris causa in provinciam veniebatis, ad eum profecto exclusi provincia venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quae est ergo apud Caesarem querela, cum eum accusetis, a quo queramini prohibitos vos contra Caesarem gerere bellum? Atque in hoc quidem vel cum mendacio, si voltis, gloriemini[7] per me licet vos provinciam fuisse Caesari tradituros. Etiamsi a Varo et a quibusdam aliis prohibiti estis, ego tamen confitebor culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tantae laudis occasione privaverit.[8]

[1] The answer to this question is not doubtful, since the Tuberos were Pompeians, and accordingly were *in eadem causa*.

[2] 'Who was interested in the surrender of Africa (by Tubero).'

[3] 'His intention,' as a treacherous one, the Pompeians having sent him to Africa.

[4] Namely, the victory of Pharsalus, in B.C. 48.

[5] Juba, king of Numidia, was an old friend of Pompey, whence he is called *inimicus huic causae;* that is, *Caesari*.

[6] 'A strong and numerous body of Roman citizens,' who were attached to Pompey.

[7] *Gloriemini* depends on *licet:* 'as for me, you may boast,' &c.

[8] 'Since he has deprived you of the opportunity of thus boasting and praising yourselves,' just because it was not he who prevented you from landing in Africa, but Varus.

9. Sed vide, quaeso, Caesar, constantiam[1] ornatissimi viri, L. Tuberonis: quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo,[2] tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te[3] cognovissem in primis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quae fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? constantiam dico? nescio, an melius patientiam possim dicere. Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus, esset etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eos ipsos rediret? Magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri,[4] quem de suscepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum possit depellere. Ut enim cetera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent, honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quae nequaquam fuerunt;[5] hoc certe praecipuum Tuberonis, quod justo[6] cum imperio ex senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus non ad Caesarem, ne iratus,[7] non domum, ne iners, non in aliquam regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus esset, videretur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a qua erat rejectus cum injuria. Quid? cum ista res[8] nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis, languidiore, credo, studio in causa fuistis: tantummodo in praesidiis[9] eratis, animi vero a causa abhorrebant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis * * * nec in vobis magis quam in reliquis; omnes enim vincendi studio tenebamur. Pacis equidem semper auctor fui: sed tum sero; erat enim amentis, cum aciem videres, pacem cogitare. Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus: tu certe[10] praecipue, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses: quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriae.[11]

[1] *Constantia*, 'perseverance.'
[2] *Ut probo;* namely, by mentioning it. This praise is not exactly very great.
[3] *A te* belongs to *laudari*.
[4] To *magni—viri* supply *est*.
[5] 'In which they were by no means equal.'
[6] And not with an assumed *imperium*, as Atius Varus.
[7] Namely, against the Pompeians.
[8] That is, your expulsion from Africa.
[9] 'In the camp;' namely, not in the battle.
[10] For Cicero himself was not at Pharsalus, but had remained behind at Dyrrhachium.
[11] *Illi victoriae* is ambiguous; either Caesar's victory, or your own anticipated victory over Caesar.

10. Haec ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiae vestrae, aut Caesarem beneficii sui poeniteret. Nunc quaero, utrum vestras injurias,[1] an rei publicae persequamini? Si rei publicae: quid de vestra in illa causa perseverantia respondebitis? si vestras, videte, ne erretis, qui Caesarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cum ignoverit suis.[2]

Itaque num tibi videor in causa Ligarii esse occupatus? num de ejus facto dicere?[3] Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam[4] referri volo vel humanitatis vel clementiae vel misericordiae. Causas, Caesar, egi multas, et quidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum;[5] certe nunquam hoc modo: *Ignoscite, judices; erravit; lapsus est; non putavit; si unquam posthac.*[6] Apud parentem sic agi solet: ad judices, *Non fecit, non cogitavit; falsi testes, fictum crimen.* Dic te, Caesar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse: quibus in praesidiis fuerit, quaere. Taceo; ne haec quidem colligo, quae fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem; 'Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, totus animo ac studio tuus.' Ad judicem sic agi solet; sed ego ad parentem loquor: Erravit, temere fecit, poenitet: ad clementiam tuam confugio, delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro. Si nemo impetravit,[7] arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, cum mihi[8] apud te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam neque in hac oratione spes[9] est posita causae nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

[1] 'Wrongs done to you.'

[2] That is, you, Tuberos, you have been pardoned by Caesar, and you demand of him to condemn your enemies, who are guilty of the same offence as you?

[3] The answer is: I was under no necessity of doing so, but *quidquid dixi*, &c.

[4] 'Solely,' or 'exclusively to your humane feelings,' &c.

[5] 'The prospect of the honours which you hoped to obtain.' In order to gain them, it was necessary for a man to show himself in the Forum as a skilful and zealous orator. Caesar himself delivered and published speeches.

[6] Supply here: do not forgive him any more. Such an aposiopesis of the apodosis is not uncommon.

[7] Supply *veniam tuam*, and to *arroganter* supply *oro, sed oro tamen.*

[8] To me, who have been a Pompeian, and your enemy.

[9] This is very modest and flattering to Caesar, for the antithesis is ever and anon: *in tua clementia spes est posita.*

11. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maxime spectares, cum pro alicujus salute multi laborarent:[1] causas[2] apud te rogantium gratiosiores esse quam voltus: neque te spectare, quam tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret, sed quam illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruantur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedas. Sed video tamen apud te causas, ut dixi, valere plus quam preces, ab iisque te moveri maxime, quorum justissimum videas dolorem in petendo. In Q. Ligario conservando multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis;[3] sed hoc, quaeso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos,[4] tibi probatissimos, totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae, robur rei publicae proponere. Nosti optime homines: animadverte horum omnium maestitiam et dolorem. Hujus T. Brocchi, de quo non dubito quid existimes, lacrimas squaloremque ipsius et filii vides. Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli, Caesar, putare, de unius capite nos agere: aut tres tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exilium his est optatius, quam patria, quam domus, quam dii penates, uno illo exulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore faciunt, moveant te horum lacrimae, moveat pietas, moveat germanitas; valeat tua vox illa, quae vicit.[5] Te enim dicere audiebamus nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent: te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne igitur hunc splendorem, omnem hanc Brocchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium,[6] hosce omnes

[1] Namely, by their speeches and defences.

[2] 'The reasons adduced in defences are more agreeable and pleasing to you than pitiable and imploring faces.' In the same sense we afterwards read *causas* and *preces*.

[3] 'To your friends;' as, for example, to myself.

[4] The Sabines were celebrated in all Italy for their bravery, and their simple and upright manners. To judge from these words, Q. Ligarius must have been a Sabine.

[5] These words are explained by the following sentence: Let that sentiment which procured you the victory (at Pharsalus) be applied here. Caesar's generosity facilitated his victory, and induced his opponents more speedily to pass over to him.

[6] Cicero himself somewhere relates that L. Corfidius was then dead, and that he made a mistake here; but the name has nevertheless remained in the text.

equites Romanos, qui adsunt veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam probatos viros? Tecum fuerunt. Atque his irascebamur, hos requirebamus, his nonnulli etiam minabantur. Conserva igitur tuis suos: ut, quemadmodum cetera, quae dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.[1]

12. Quodsi penitus perspicere posses concordiam[2] Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia esse potuisset, in eadem sententia fuisset futurus, in qua fratres fuerunt? Quis est, qui horum consensum conspirantem et paene conflatum in hac prope aequalitate fraterna non noverit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisse, quam ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptus est unus; qui si consilio[3] id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. Sed ierit[4] ad bellum, discesserit non a te solum, verum etiam a fratribus, hi te orant tui. Equidem, cum tuis omnibus negotiis interessem, memoria teneo, qualis tum T. Ligarius[5] quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, qui oblivisci nihil soles[6] nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui, te aliquid de hujus illo quaestorio officio,[7] etiam de aliis quibusdam[8] quaestoribus reminiscentem recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud (neque enim haec divinabat),[9] nisi ut tu eum tui studiosum et bonum virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit. Quam hujus[10] admonitus officio cum utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos non solum sibi ipsis neque his tot ac

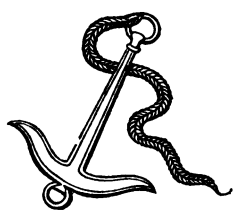
[1] Namely, *tuos esse, qui contra te non essent.*
[2] *Concordia*, 'brotherly affection,' 'unanimity in their sentiments.'
[3] *Consilio*, 'purposely,' 'intentionally.'
[4] *Ierit*; that is, *etiamsi ierit.*
[5] T. Ligarius was quaestor urbanus in B. C. 56, when Caesar was in Gaul.
[6] A flattery; Caesar is said to have known the names of all his soldiers.
[7] Ligarius paid to Caesar the donation for his army sanctioned by the senate, and he did so without delay, although the treasury was greatly exhausted.
[8] Namely, who had been less obliging.
[9] Namely, the misfortune of his brother, Q. Ligarius.
[10] *Hujus* refers to T. Ligarius.

talibus viris neque nobis necessariis, sed etiam rei publicae condonaveris. Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo[1] fecisti nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiae[2] probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille dies[3] tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit; noli, obsecro, dubitare, C. Caesar, similem illi gloriae laudem quam saepissime quaerere. Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas; nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est; homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certe natura breviorem. Quare, cum utilius esse arbitrer te ipsum quam me aut quemquam loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantum te admonebo, si illi absenti salutem dederis, praesentibus hia omnibus te daturum.

[1] That is, M. Marcellus; who, when consul in B.C. 49, had maintained that Caesar ought to come to Rome without his army to sue for the consulship. Caesar afterwards pardoned him.

[2] 'To all this numerous assembly.'

[3] Namely, on which you pardoned Marcellus.



PRO REGE DEIOTARO AD C. CAESAREM ORATIO.

DEIOTARUS, tetrarch—that is, one of the four princes—of Galatia, a country of Asia Minor, between Cappadocia, Phrygia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, was a friend of Pompey, and rendered important services to the Romans in their wars in Asia. Pompey rewarded him by giving him Lesser Armenia; and the Roman senate, through the mediation of Pompey, granted him the title of king in B.C. 65. In consequence of these things, he was a warm supporter of Pompey and his party (which he believed to be not only the most powerful, but identified in its cause with that of the senate), when the war between Caesar and Pompey broke out. After the unfortunate issue of the battle of Pharsalus in B.C. 48, he gave up the cause of the Pompeians, and endeavoured by all means again to win the favour of Caesar, which he had enjoyed before the war. He accordingly offered money and troops to Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who had the command in Asia, while Caesar himself was still engaged in the African war, B.C. 47. Meantime Deiotarus himself had to carry on a war; for Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, and king of Bosporus, had taken from him Lesser Armenia. But the war which Deiotarus undertook against the invader, with the assistance of the same Cn. Domitius, turned out unfavourably, and Deiotarus lost almost his whole army. Caesar had by this time brought the Alexandrine War to a successful issue; he went to Asia Minor to attack Pharnaces, who had encroached upon Roman territory, and injured Roman allies. Deiotarus went out to meet the victorious imperator in an humble manner, and sued for mercy. Caesar pardoned him, and allowed him his kingly title; but did not restore to him his former possession, giving the eastern part, the tetrarchy of the Trocmi, to Mithridates of Pergamus, whom he had appointed king of Bosporus; and Lesser Armenia, the gift of Pompey, was assigned to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, who was likewise a faithful ally of Rome. Deiotarus, who had hospitably received Caesar, and had accompanied him against their common enemy Pharnaces, had not expected this treatment; and after Caesar had quitted Asia, the king appears to have somehow or other expressed his dissatisfaction (see chap. 3). But this does not seem to have been the ground of the accusation which was raised against him two years later; for his grandson Castor charged him with having made an attempt on the life of Caesar, at the time when the latter stayed with him for three

days; and Castor brought with him Phidippus, the king's physician, to bear witness to his charge. As to what induced Castor to bring forward this serious accusation Cicero is altogether silent; but from other passages, which were written after Caesar's death, we may conjecture that family disputes, and especially the cruelty of Deiotarus, provoked his grandson to bring this charge against him. Cicero, who had formed a friendship with Deiotarus at the time when he was governor of Cilicia, undertook his defence; and in B.C. 45 he delivered the present oration in the house of Caesar, in presence of the ambassadors of Deiotarus (see chap. 15) and of the accusers. Afterwards he wrote down the speech, and sent it to his friend. He endeavours to set forth the unprecedented and incredible nature of the charge, especially by identifying the impracticability of such a plan with its non-execution. In enumerating the great services rendered by Deiotarus to Pompey, Caesar, and the Roman state (chap. 3–5), he describes him as a very venerable old man, of a very excellent character, who could not possibly have been capable of such an act; which, moreover, would have been planned in an extremely stupid manner, if it had been devised in the way stated by the accuser. He charges the accusers with extreme impudence and falsehood, and in conclusion appeals to the mercy of Caesar.

We are not distinctly informed what the result of this defence was, but we have reason to believe that Caesar did not press the matter any further. Deiotarus remained in possession of his tetrarchy, but did not recover Lesser Armenia in the lifetime of Caesar, who, as Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 37) says, always hated Deiotarus. After the murder of Caesar, however, Deiotarus recovered his possession, and took cruel vengeance on the parents of Castor, whom he ordered to be murdered. Castor himself escaped, and after the death of Deiotarus, obtained possession of a part of Galatia.

This speech is not so energetic and impressive as that for Ligarius, to which it bears some resemblance in the treatment of the subject. Cicero himself, in one of his letters, does not speak very favourably of it, and describes it as lightly dashed off, and without any great depth, probably because he was obliged to pass over many things in silence.

CUM in omnibus causis gravioribus,[1] C. Caesar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius, quam videatur vel usus[2] vel aetas[3] mea postulare, tum in hac causa ita me multa

[1] Namely, cases in which the honour or the life of an accused was at stake.

[2] The long habit of, or the practice in, speaking.

[3] Cicero, who delivered this speech in B.C. 45, was then in his sixty-second year.

perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides[1] studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat. Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis; quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est in tuo dumtaxat periculo,[2] tamen est ita inusitatum,[3] regem reum capitis esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde eum regem, quem ornare[4] antea cuncto cum senatu solebamus pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rem publicam meritis,[5] nunc contra atrocissimum crimen cogor defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius[6] crudelitate, alterius indignitate conturber. Crudelis Castor,[7] ne dicam sceleratum et impium; qui nepos avum in capitis discrimen adduxerit adolescentiaeque suae terrorem intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque ineuntis aetatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit; avi servum,[8] corruptum praemiis, ad accusandum dominum impulerit, a legatorum pedibus[9] abduxerit. Fugitivi[10] autem dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem et dominum amicissimum nostrae rei publicae, cum os videbam, cum verba audiebam, non tam afflictam regiam condicionem dolebam, quam de fortunis communibus[11] extimescebam. Nam cum more majorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis quidem quaeri[12] liceat, in qua

[1] 'My promise' given to Deiotarus.

[2] Because Deiotarus was charged with having attempted the life of Caesar.

[3] Because the person of a king was considered inviolable.

[4] *Ornare*, 'to honour' or 'reward.' Deiotarus had not only received from the senate expressions of gratitude, and the title of king, but his dominion also had been extended.

[5] He had supported the Roman generals in the war against Mithridates, and Cicero himself in his expedition against the Cilician mountaineers.

[6] The first *alterius* refers to Castor, and the second to the slave Phidippus.

[7] A daughter of Deiotarus had married Saocondarius, and Castor was their son.

[8] Phidippus, like almost all the physicians of that time, was a slave.

[9] The place for slaves was at the feet of their masters; hence: 'he has withdrawn him from the feet of the ambassadors,' is equivalent to: 'he has withdrawn him from their service.'

[10] *Fugitivus* here is equivalent to *servus*.

[11] That is, the common fate of all those who keep slaves, and are at the mercy of their faithlessness.

[12] *De servo quaeri*, the same as *e servo quaeri*, 'to question a slave, for the purpose of drawing from him evidence against his master.'

quaestione dolor elicere veram vocem possit etiam ab invito: exortus est servus, qui quem in eculeo appellare[1] non posset, eum accuset solutus.

2. Perturbat me, C. Caesar, etiam illud[2] interdum; quod tamen, cum te penitus recognovi, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia fit aequissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inisse arguare,[3] si per se ipsum consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi judex, non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat. Sed tua, Caesar, praestans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit; non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid de te ceteros velis judicare.[4] Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in qua oratorum studia niti solent:[5] in tuis oculis, in tuo ore voltuque acquiesco; te unum intueor; ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio. Quae[6] mihi ad spem obtinendae veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi et ad omnem impetum dicendi contentionemque leviora. Hanc enim, C. Caesar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non faveret, cujus omnem aetatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, caelum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, cum et deorum immortalium et populi Romani et senatus beneficia[7] in regem Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quae quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actioque maximae causae debilitatur loco,

[1] *Appellare* is the same as the following *accusare*. *Solutus* is opposed to *in eculeo*, 'in the torture horse.'

[2] *Illud*, 'the following circumstance;' namely, that Caesar is to be judge in his own cause.

[3] The second person in *arguare* has the indefinite meaning of 'one.'

[4] 'What you wish others to judge (think) of you;' namely, that you can be a just judge in your own cause, having shown yourself wise, moderate, and fair.

[5] The sight of a multitude kindles and keeps up the zeal of an orator.

[6] Namely, the fact of my standing before you alone. *Leviora:* it would more excite my vigour and animation in speaking if I faced a numerous assembly.

[7] *Beneficia;* see note 4, p. 247.

tuum est, Caesar, qui pro multis saepe dixisti,[1] quid mihi nunc animi sit, ad te ipsum referre;[2] quo facilius cum aequitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam. Sed antequam de accusatione ipsa dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam. Qui cum videantur nec ingenio nec usu atque exercitatione rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.

3. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii; affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis propter offensionem animi tui meminerant;[3] [teque cum huic iratum, tum sibi amicum esse cognoverant;] cumque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo facile fictum crimen insideret.[4] Quamobrem hoc nos primum, Caesar, metu, per fidem et constantiam et per clementiam tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiae suspicemur. Per dexteram istam te oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti[5] porrexisti: istam, inquam, dexteram, non tam[6] in bellis nec in proeliis quam in promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti; te ejus dii penates acceperunt; te amicum et placatum Deiotari regis arae focique viderunt. Cum facile exorari, Caesar, tum semel[7] exorari soles; nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te simultatis reliquias senserit. Quamquam cui sunt inauditae cum Deiotaro querelae tuae? Nunquam tu

[1] In his speech for Ligarius (chap. 10), Cicero also says to Caesar: *causas, Caesar, eji multas, et quidem tecum.*

[2] 'To judge from your own self.'

[3] 'They remembered that he had suffered some disadvantages and losses, because he had offended you,' is a softening representation of certain facts. For in the civil war Deiotarus had sided with Pompey, and for this Caesar, during his presence in Asia, had deprived him of a part of his dominion which the senate had granted to him. See *Philip.* ii. 37, where Cicero states the same thing more unreservedly and strongly.

[4] *Ut—insideret*, 'that a fictitious crime would easily cling to (be firmly believed by) your wounded heart' (inclined to take revenge). These words contain an exhortation to Caesar to form a just opinion, and to detest the false accusers rather than to believe them.

[5] Cicero, in another passage, says: *Deiotarus Caesarem eodem tempore et hostem et hospitem vidit.*

[6] As far as the sense is concerned, *tam* might be omitted; but we must take *firmiorem* in the sense of *firmum* or *firmissimum*, or supply, 'than any other.'

[7] 'Only once,' and that completely.

illum accusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod propensior in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset quam in tuam. Cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas,[1] si tantum auxilia Pompeio vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse aetatis excusatione usus esset. Ita cum maximis eum rebus[2] liberares, perparvam amicitiae culpam[3] relinquebas. Itaque non solum in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti. Neque enim ille odio[4] tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. Is rex, quem senatus hoc nomine[5] saepe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique illum ordinem ab adolescentia gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos in media re publica nati semperque versati.

4. Cum audiret senatus consentientis[6] auctoritate arma sumpta; consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebi, nobis imperatoribus[7] rem publicam defendendam datam, movebatur animo, et vir huic imperio amicissimus de salute populi Romani extimescebat, in qua etiam suam esse inclusam videbat; in summo tamen timore quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. Maxime vero perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italia profugisse, omnesque consulares (sic enim ei nuntiabatur), cunctum senatum, totam Italiam esse effusam: talibus enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem via, nec ulli veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de condicio-

[1] *Dicebas* should rather be *scribebas;* for Caesar is said to have written to Deiotarus a letter, the substance of which is contained in the words from *si* to *esset*.

[2] The *maximae res* here is his having sided with Pompey.

[3] 'A slight offence against friendship;' that is, a want of friendship.

[4] Not from any special hatred of you, but because he was labouring under the common error. Cicero frequently mentions this in his speech for Ligarius, and represents himself as having shared it. What the error was he does not state; but he can only mean, that all had formed a wrong opinion in thinking that Pompey's party was the best, and would be victorious.

[5] *Hoc nomine;* that is, by the title of king. The *ordo* here is the senate.

[6] In B.C. 49, when Caesar passed the Rubicon; the consuls of the year were C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus.

[7] Cicero, too, had obtained the title of imperator in the Cilician War; and as proconsul, he, with others, had received from the senate the command, *ut videret, nequid res publica detrimenti caperet.*

nibus tuis,[1] nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum[2] contra dignitatem tuam. Quae cum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio legati ad eum litteraeque venerunt. Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus; ad quem cum dii atque homines omnia ornamenta congessissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima.[3] Neque enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum[4] laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quantae opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria, quanto tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus; tuos enumerare non possumus.

5. Ad eum[5] igitur rex Deiotarus venit hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis[6] adjuverat, quocum erat non hospitio solum, verum etiam familiaritate conjunctus; et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus, vel arcessitus, ut socius, vel evocatus, ut is, qui senatui parere didicisset; postremo venit ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad periculi, non ad victoriae societatem. Itaque Pharsalico proelio facto a Pompeio discessit;[7] spem infinitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit; domum se contulit

[1] The proposals of Caesar, even during the war, seemed to show that he wished for peace; for he himself wanted an interview with Pompey, and a fair division of the provinces, and desired to obtain the consulship in a lawful way. But all was refused.

[2] Namely, of distinguished Romans; such as Marcellus, Lentulus, Domitius, Scipio, and Cato.

[3] Namely, by the triumvirate, and the fact that Caesar gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey (B.C. 60). As long as she lived, the two leaders were united, and promoted each other's schemes.

[4] 'Of all the other Romans.'

[5] *Ad eum*, equivalent to *ad talem virum*.

[6] 'In regular wars with foreign enemies,' as opposed to civil war. *Hospitium* is not only 'hospitality,' but 'intimacy formed by long intercourse and living together' in war.

[7] He did not abandon Pompey immediately: he fled with him in the same ship, and landed on the coast of Cilicia, with a view of procuring fresh support for him. *Infinitus* here is the same as *incertus*.

teque Alexandrinum bellum[1] gerente utilitatibus tuis paruit. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii[2] amplissimi viri suis tectis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum[3] ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit, ille iterum,[4] ille tertio auctionibus factis[5] pecuniam dedit, qua ad bellum uterere; ille corpus suum periculo objecit, tecumque in acie contra Pharnacem[6] fuit, tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quae quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Caesar, ut eum amplissimo honore et regis nomine[7] affeceris. Is igitur, non modo a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur *domi* te suae interficere voluisse. Quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judices, suspicari profecto non potes. Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti[8] sceleris fuerit, in conspectu deorum penatium necare hospitem; cujus tantae importunitatis omnium gentium atque omnis memoriae clarissimum lumen exstinguere; cujus tantae ferocitatis victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus tam inhumani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo tyrannum inveniri: ut haec omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnes liberos populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum domo, cum

[1] In B.C. 48 and 47; it was the war which Caesar carried on in behalf of Queen Cleopatra, and which ended in her restoration to the throne.

[2] Cn. Domitius, surnamed Calvinus, consul in B.C. 54, belonged to Caesar's party. When Domitius carried on the war against Pharnaces, Deiotarus supported him with two legions trained in the Roman fashion, and one hundred horse.

[3] Ephesus, an Ionian city in Lydia with a celebrated temple of Diana, which was burnt in B.C. 356, during the birth of Alexander the Great. *Ad eum* refers to L. Julius Caesar, whom Caesar, after the battle of Pharsalus, had appointed governor of Syria and the adjoining countries.

[4] *Iterum*, in the Alexandrine War; *tertio*, in the African war, B.C. 46.

[5] 'Having held a public auction,' at which he probably exposed his private property for sale.

[6] Pharnaces, king of Bosporus, was the son and murderer of Mithridates; having been set up as king by Pompey, he made himself master of Lesser Armenia during the troubles of the civil war. Caesar conquered him at Zela in Pontus, B.C. 47: *veni, vidi, vici.*

[7] Caesar divided the reconquered Armenia between him and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.

[8] *Cujus tanti*, equivalent to *quanti.*

conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus[1] esset, tanto scelere non modo perfecto, sed etiam cogitato?

6. At, credo, haec homo inconsultus et temerarius[2] non videbat. — Quis consideratior illo? quis tectior?[3] quis prudentior? quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentia quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto. Nota tibi est hominis probitas, C. Caesar, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset propter metum praesentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo et ab homine minime stulto cogitatum esse confingitis. At quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose[4] quidem! Cum, inquit, in castellum Luceium[5] venisses et domum regis, hospitis tui, devertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus te rex munerare constituerat. Huc te e balneo, priusquam accumberes,[6] ducere volebat: ibi enim erant armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. En crimen, en causa, cur regem fugitivus,[7] dominum servus accuset. Ego, mehercules, Caesar, initio, cum est ad me ista causa delata, Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis[8] missus esset, ab isto adolescente esse corruptum,[9] hac sum suspicione percussus: medicum indicem subornavit; finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni. Etsi a veritate longe, tamen a consuetudine criminandi[10] non

[1] *Distractus cum aliquo*, 'fallen out with some one,' 'at enmity with one.' Compare Cic. *Phil.* ii. 13.

[2] 'If we conceive Deiotarus to have been an inconsiderate and rash man.' This fictitious objection is refuted immediately after.

[3] *Tectior*, 'more cautious or skilled in fighting,' like a gladiator, who well knows how to protect (cover) himself. 'But I will not defend Deiotarus by his prudence and foresight, but by his conscientiousness and faithfulness.'

[4] To *suspiciose* supply *fingitis*, 'not even in such a manner as to make one suspect, not to speak of believing.'

[5] *Luceium*, a country palace of Deiotarus.

[6] In the East it was customary to bathe before taking a meal, and at meals persons lay reclining on their left arm.

[7] That is, the physician Phidippus.

[8] To *legatis* supply *Castoris;* compare chap. 15.

[9] *Esse corruptum* depends on *suspicione.*

[10] It was a common thing to accuse a person of having hired a physician for the purpose of poisoning an enemy.

multum res abhorrebat. Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno.[1] At id fieri potuit primo occultius in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam impunius fit, quod cum est factum, negari potest. Si palam te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset; si veneno, Jovis ille quidem hospitalis[2] numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines fortasse celasset. Quod igitur et conari occultius et efficere cautius potuit, id tibi, et medico callido et servo, ut putabat, fideli, non credidit? de armis, de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit? At quam festive crimen contexitur! Tua te, inquit, eadem, quae semper, fortuna servavit: negavisti tum te inspicere velle.

7. Quid postea? an Deiotarus re illo tempore non perfecta continuo dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eodem te, cum coenavisses, rediturum dixeras: itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Cum in convivio comiter et jucunde fuisses, tum illuc isti,[3] ut dixeras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus[4] in P. Africanum[5] fuit: cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asia; quae Africanus inspectante exercitu[6] accepit. Quod cum praesens[7] Deiotarus regio et animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti. Obsecro, Caesar, repete illius temporis memoriam, pone illum ante oculos diem, voltus hominum te intuentium atque admirantium recordare. Num quae trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina?[8] Quid igitur causae excogitari potest, cur te lotum voluerit, coenatum noluerit occidere? In posterum, inquit, diem

[1] The fact that the physician said nothing of poison is taken by Cicero as a proof that the whole accusation is worth nothing.

[2] That is, Jupiter, the protector of the law of hospitality, and the avenger of any violation of it; in Greek, Ζεὺς ξένιος.

[3] *Isti* for *ivisti*.

[4] Attalus III., king of Pergamus, who made the Roman people the heir of his kingdom in B. C. 133.

[5] That is, Scipio Africanus minor, the destroyer of Numantia in Spain, in B. C. 133.

[6] He promised to reward the army with them.

[7] *Praesens*, 'in person.'

[8] Those who were about Deiotarus necessarily resembled him in their manners and conduct.

distulit, ut cum in castellum Luceium véntum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret. Non video causam mutandi loci; sed tamen acta res criminose est.[1] Cum, inquit, vomere[2] post coenam te velle dixisses, in balneum te ducere coeperunt: ibi enim erant insidiae. At te eadem tua illa fortuna servavit: in cubiculo malle[3] dixisti. Dii te perduint, fugitive! ita non modo nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et amens es. Quid? ille signa aenea[4] in insidiis posuerat, quae e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent? Habes crimina[5] insidiarum: nihil enim dixit amplius: horum, inquit, eram conscius. Quid tum? ita ille demens erat, ut eum, quem tanti sceleris conscium haberet, a se dimitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem suum, et C. Caesarem cui fecisset insidias? praesertim cum is unus esset, qui posset de absente se indicare?[6] Et fratres meos, inquit, quod erant conscii, in vincula conjecit. Cum igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habebat, te solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quae illos scire dicis?

8. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem semper in speculis[7] fuisse, cum a te animo esset alieno;[8] altera exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Nunquam eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus[9] [hostium] et latrociniis tueretur et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque antea quidem majores copias alere poterat; nunc exiguas vix tueri potest. At misit ad Caecilium nescio

[1] 'But still something suspicious was done.'

[2] Caesar was not generally intemperate, like those who, in order not to overload their stomachs, and to be able to eat again, took emetics. But the Romans in general considered emetics wholesome and strengthening to the stomach.

[3] To *malle* supply *vomere*.

[4] *Signa aenea*, 'bronze figures,' not real soldiers.

[5] *Crimina*, equivalent to *criminationes*.

[6] *Indicare* refers to Castor, whereas *vindicare*, as some read, might refer both to Caesar and to Castor.

[7] *In speculis*, 'on the look-out.'

[8] Deiotarus had been hurt by Caesar in many respects, especially in being deprived by him of a portion of his dominion.

[9] *Excursionibus* here equivalent to *incursionibus*.

quem :[1] sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quaero, quam veri simile sit aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut qui dicto audientes in tanta re[2] non fuissent, eos vinctos potius quam necatos. Sed tamen cum ad Caecilium mittebat, utrum causam illam[3] victam esse nesciebat, an Caecilium istum magnum hominem putabat ? quem profecto is, qui[4] optime nostros homines novit, vel quia nosset vel quia non nosset, contemneret. Addit[5] etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse. Credo, Caesar; nihil ad tuum equitatum; sed misit ex iis, quos habuit, delectos. At nescio quem ex eo numero servum[6] judicatum. Non arbitror, non audivi; sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

9. Alieno autem a te animo quomodo ? Speravit,[7] credo, difficiles tibi Alexandreae fore exitus propter regionum naturam et fluminis. At eo tempore ipso pecuniam dedit, exercitum aluit; ei, quem Asiae praefeceras,[8] nulla in re defuit; tibi victori non solum ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praesto fuit. Secutum est bellum Africanum ;[9] graves de te rumores ;[10] qui etiam furiosum illum Caecilium excitaverunt. Quo tum rex animo fuit ? qui auctionatus sit seseque spoliare maluerit quam tibi pecuniam non subministrare. At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicaeam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque cum esset ei nuntiatum, Domitium[11] naufragio perisse, te in castello cir-

[1] 'To a certain Caecilius,' a contemptuous expression. Caecilius Bassus, a Roman eques, and follower of Pompey, had collected an army, and taken possession of Syria on hearing of Caesar's defeat in Africa.

[2] 'In so grave a matter' as the command of a king.

[3] *Causa illa* is the party of Pompey.

[4] *Is, qui*, is Deiotarus.

[5] To *addit* supply *accusator*, and to *misisse, ad te, Caesarem.*

[6] Slaves were not allowed by the Romans to serve as soldiers in the infantry, and much less in the cavalry.

[7] *Speravit* is ironical, for Caesar had no longer anything to fear at Alexandria.

[8] Namely, Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

[9] Against the Pompeians and King Juba, in B. C. 47 and 46.

[10] These rumours had proceeded from Caecilius, and stated that Caesar had been slain. Caesar had actually been unfortunate at first.

[11] Domitius, however, took part in the African War, having sailed over from Asia.

cumsederi, de Domitio dixit versum Graecum[1] eadem sententia, qua etiam nos habemus Latinum :

Pereánt amici, dum úna inimici intércidant.

quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixisset: ipse enim mansuetus,[2] versus immanis. Qui autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quo cum vel interfici belli lege potuisset, regem et se et filium suum constitutos esse meminisset? Quid deinde? furcifer[3] quo progreditur? Ait, hac laetitia[4] Deiotarum elatum vino se obruisse, in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quae crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam aut ebrium vidit unquam? Omnes in illo sunt rege virtutes, quod te, Caesar, ignorare non arbitror; sed praecipue singularis et admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari regem non solere. Frugi hominem dici non multum habet laudis in rege; fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, liberalem, hae sunt regiae laudes; illa privata est.[5] Ut volet quisque accipiat; ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem maximam judico. Haec in illo est ab ineunte aetate cum a cuncta Asia, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. Multis ille quidem gradibus[6] officiorum erga rem publicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit; sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque jungebat,[7] ut non solum tetrarches nobilis, sed etiam optimus paterfamilias et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius haberetur. Qui igitur adolescens, nondum tanta gloria praeditus,

[1] The Greek verse, ἰῤῥίτω φίλος σὺν ἐχθρῷ, is incomplete, and in the trochaic metre; the author of the Latin is unknown.

[2] *Mansuetus* does not describe his true character, for other writers call him cruel.

[3] That is, the slave Phidippus.

[4] The joy at the fancied misfortune of Caesar and Domitius.

[5] A private person must strive after *frugalitas* and moderation, σωφροσύνη.

[6] *Gradus*, 'degrees.' The services of Deiotarus towards Rome have become greater and greater.

[7] 'To form commercial connections,' 'to carry on commerce.'

nihil unquam nisi severissime et gravissime fecerit, is ea existimatione[1] eaque aetate saltavit?

10. Imitari, Castor, potius avi tui mores disciplinamque debebas quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledicere. Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaeque exempla peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minime in illam aetatem[2] conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte aetate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed bene ut[3] armis, optime ut equis uteretur, ea tamen illum cuncta jam exacta aetate defecerant. Itaque Deiotarum cum plures in equum sustulissent, quod haerere in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic vero adolescens, qui meus in Cilicia[4] miles, in Graecia commilito fuit, cum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat! quam se jactare! quam ostentare! quam nemini in illa causa studio et cupiditate concedere![5] Cum vero exercitu amisso[6] ego, qui pacis semper auctor, post Pharsalicum proelium suasor fui armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum: hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebat studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur.[7] Felix ista domus, quae non impunitatem[8] solum adepta sit, sed accusandi etiam licentiam; calamitosus Deiotarus, qui ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modo apud te,[9] sed etiam a suis accusetur. Vos vestra secunda fortuna, Castor, non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?

11. Sint sane inimicitiae, quae esse non debebant: rex

[1] The *existimatio* is the belief implied in the *laetitia* above.

[2] That is, *in senem Deiotarum*.

[3] *Non saltandi—sed ut* are both dependent on *studiis*.

[4] At the time when Cicero was carrying on war against the Cilician mountaineers, in B.C. 50.

[5] *Concedere*, the same as *cedere*, 'to yield to.'

[6] The number of the Pompeians who fell at Pharsalus is stated to have been 15,000, and that of the prisoners 24,000. See Caes. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 99.

[7] *Quod—arbitrabatur*. Castor was naturally warlike, and was unwilling, after the first defeat, to give up the cause of his father (Saocondarius), who was a Pompeian.

[8] Caesar had pardoned them.

[9] Deiotarus is accused before you by those who have been in the same predicament as he, and who have themselves been pardoned by you; and, in addition to this, these accusers are his own relations.

enim[1] Deiotarus vestram familiam abjectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit. Quis tuum patrem antea qui esset, quam cujus gener esset audivit? Sed quamvis ingrate et impie necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias hominum more[2] gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere.[3] Esto; concedatur haec quoque acerbitas et odii magnitudo: adeone, ut omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam humanitatis jura violentur?[4] Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum armare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis nefarium bellum indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi si non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tanta auctoritate[5] approbata, nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullae leges, nulla jura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impune evolare potest contraque nos pugnare, fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus. O tempora, O mores! Cn. Domitius ille,[6] quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, cum tribunus plebi M. Scaurum[7] principem civitatis in judicium populi[8] vocasset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset, prehendi hominem jussit ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide, quid intersit; etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo abduxisti; ille incorruptum audire noluit, tu corrupisti; ille

[1] *Enim* here intimates that Caesar had a right to be angry with them. It must, however, be remembered that after Caesar's death Deiotarus ordered his son-in-law and his own daughter to be killed.

[2] *Hominum more*, 'in an open and honest manner.'

[3] *Capitis arcessere*, for *in judicium*, or *in summum periculum capitis arcessere*, 'to bring a capital charge against a person.'

[4] *Violentur* is explained by what follows: *omnibus familiis nefarium bellum indicere.*

[5] That is, by you, Caesar.

[6] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was consul in B.C. 96, censor in B.C. 92, and tribune of the people in B.C. 104.

[7] M. Aemilius Scaurus had been elected by the censors six times to the dignity of *princeps senatus:* he was consul in B.C. 115.

[8] An accusation before the people for having neglected sacrifices and sacred rites. In such cases the people decided. But such popular courts became more unusual after B.C. 50. Originally the people had assembled according to their curies, afterwards according to centuries and tribes: in the present case according to tribes, thirty-two of which acquitted Scaurus.

adjutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti. At semel iste est corruptus a vobis? Nonne cum esset productus et cum tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? nonne audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio[1] clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium coenabat, et hoc T. Torquato,[2] optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsum esse confessus est?

12. Quae est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? icciroo in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumperes, domesticaque immanitate nostrae civitatis humanitatem inquinares? At quam acute collecta crimina! Blesamius,[3] inquit (ejus enim nomine, optimi viri nec tibi ignoti, maledicebat tibi), ad regem scribere solebat te in invidia esse, tyrannum existimari; statua inter reges[4] posita animos hominum vehementer offensos; plaudi tibi non solere. Nonne intelligis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis haec ab istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Caesarem scriberet? Multorum enim[5] capita civium viderat; multos jussu Caesaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos; multas afflictas et eversas domos; armatis militibus refertum forum. Quae semper in civili victoria[6] sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus. Solus, inquam, es, C. Caesar, cujus in victoria ceciderit nemo nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi, in summa populi Romani libertate nati, non modo non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoria ducimus, is Blesamio, qui vivit in regno,[7] tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis queritur, una praesertim, cum tam multas videat? Valde enim[8] invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropaeis non invidimus. Nam si locus affert invidiam, nullus est ad statuam quidem Rostris clarior.[9] De

[1] Ser. Sulpicius was a celebrated lawyer, a friend of Cicero, and partisan of Caesar.

[2] It is uncertain whether this is the son of the orator T. Manlius Torquatus, whom Cicero mentions, *Brut.* 70.

[3] *Blesamius*, one of the ambassadors of Deiotarus; see chap. 15.

[4] Among the statues of the seven kings in the Capitol.

[5] *Enim* may here be rendered by 'perhaps:' it is used ironically.

[6] Such as those of Marius and Sulla.

[7] *In regno*, 'in a monarchy.'

[8] *Valde enim* is used ironically—*enim* as above.

[9] *Nam si locus—clarior.* Cicero here conceals his own *invidia;* for the *Rostra* were adorned with two statues of Caesar.

plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnunquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsa admiratione compressus est, et fortasse eo praetermissus, quia nihil volgare te dignum videri potest.

13. Nihil a me arbitror praetermissum, sed aliquid ad extremam causae partem reservatum. Id autem aliquid est, te ut plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea: non enim jam metuo, ne illi tu succenseas; illud vereor, ne tibi illum succensere aliquid suspicere. Quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Caesar: quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit; neque se a te multatum arbitratur, sed cum existimares multis[1] tibi multa esse tribuenda, quominus a se, qui in altera parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. Etenim si Antiochus magnus ille, rex Asiae, posteaquam a L. Scipione devictus[2] Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset omnemque hanc Asiam, quae est nunc nostra provincia, amisisset, dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur, potest multo facilius se Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multam sustulerat,[3] hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Caesar, tribuisti, cum et ipsi et filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque servato nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum judicium de se senatus imminutum[4] putat; magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem. Multa se arbitratur et peperisse ante factis et habere in animo atque virtute, quae nullo modo possit amittere. Quae enim fortuna aut quis casus aut quae tanta possit injuria omnium imperatorum[5] de Deiotaro decreta delere? ab omnibus est enim iis ornatus, qui, posteaquam in castris esse potuit per aetatem, in Asia, Cappadocia, Ponto, Cilicia, Syria bella gesserunt. Senatus vero judicia de illo tam multa tamque honorifica, quae publicis populi Romani litteris monumentisque[6] con-

[1] Caesar increased the number of praetors to fourteen, that of the quaestors to forty, and that of the senators to nine hundred.

[2] Antiochus was defeated in B.C. 189, and had to give up all Asia west of Mount Taurus.

[3] *Multam sustulerat*, equivalent to *poenam dederat*.

[4] Deiotarus believes that the Roman senate still entertains the same good-will towards him.

[5] Such as Sulla, Murena, Servilius, Lucullus, and Pompey.

[6] Such decrees of the senate were kept in the public archives in the Capitol, and the assembled people gave its sanction to them.

signata sunt, quae unquam vetustas obruet aut quae tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia? quae omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola bona esse dixerunt, hisque non modo ad bene, sed etiam ad beate vivendum contentam esse virtutem. Haec ille reputans et dies noctesque cogitans, non modo tibi non succenset (esset enim non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum omnem tranquillitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert clementiae tuae.

14. Quo quidem animo cum antea fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis litteris, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone[1] huic Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam erexerit ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim eum bene sperare et bono esse animo: quod scio te non frustra scribere solere; memini enim iisdem fere verbis ad me te scribere[2] meque tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse jussum. Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica[3] conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia et in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt; sed cum de illo laboro,[4] tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec haerere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam nec accidere, ut quisquam te timere incipiat eorum, qui sint semel a te liberati timore. Non debeo, C. Caesar, quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, tentare, ecquonam modo dicendo[5] misericordiam tuam commovere possim. Nihil opus est; occurrere solet ipsa[6] supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges,[7] et id animo contemplare, quod oculis non potes. Dabis profecto misericordiae, quod

[1] Tarraco was a town in Spain. It was there that Caesar, after defeating the last Pompeians, received the embassies, which came to him partly to congratulate him, and partly to sue for pardon. *Exemplum* is 'a copy.'

[2] Namely, from Egypt.

[3] Because Deiotarus had done service to the Roman republic.

[4] Observe the twofold construction: *laboro de aliquo*, and shortly after, *laboro aliqua re.*

[5] *Modo* and *dicendo* must not be connected.

[6] To *ipsa* supply *misericordia.*

[7] Two kings, father and son.

iracundiae denegavisti.[1] Multa sunt tuae clementiae monumenta, sed maxime eorum incolumitates, quibus salutem dedisti. Quae si in privatis gloriosa sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit; sociorum vero regum et amicorum sanctissimum.

15. Quod nomen hi reges ne amitterent, te victore timuerunt; retentum vero et a te confirmatum posteris etiam suis tradituros esse confido. Corpora sua pro salute regum suorum hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras et Blesamius et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jam diu noti, eademque fide et virtute praeditus Dorylaus,[2] qui nuper cum Hiera legatus est ad te missus, cum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquire de Blesamio, numquid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum; memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales plurimum; negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia pedem discessisse; in primis finibus tibi se praesto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum; cum e balneo exisses, tecum se fuisse, cum illa munera inspexisses coenatus, cum in cubiculo recubuisses; eandemque assiduitatem tibi se praebuisse postridie. Quamobrem si quid eorum, quae objecta sunt, cogitatum sit,[3] non recusat, quin id suum[4] facinus judices. Quocirca, C. Caesar, velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam pestem importaturam esse regibus, aut incolumem famam cum salute: quorum alterum optare illorum[5] crudelitatis est, alterum conservare clementiae tuae.

[1] Namely, when Blesamius at Tarraco solicited Caesar to pardon Deiotarus: 'You will now show mercy, since before you did not give way to anger.'

[2] Dorylaus can only be one of the ambassadors of Deiotarus, who was present also on this occasion. *Amicissimi*, therefore, is the nominative. Other commentators believe him to be the ambassador of some neighbouring king, perhaps of Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, and take *amicissimi* and *probati* as genitives depending on *legatus*. In this case it would be necessary to supply *rei publicae* to *amicissimi*.

[3] Namely, against the life of Caesar.

[4] *Suum;* that is, *Hierae.*

[5] *Illorum;* that is, of Castor and Phidippus.

IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA I.

THE murder of C. Julius Caesar, on the ides of March, B. C. 44, was a misfortune for the Roman republic; for it was not the beginning of peace, nor a restoration of the old republican constitution, but rather the signal for the outbreak of a war between the parties, which Caesar's greatness and superiority had until then kept down. Cicero himself and the noblest Romans, the genuine aristocrats and sincere friends of the good old times, became the victims of the internecine struggles which now ensued, and which could end only in the establishment of that form of government of which Caesar had laid the foundation. During the period which followed his murder, when all parties were at a loss to know what to do, and how to act, two men came forward against each other, the one possessed of an unflinching patriotism and the most brilliant talent as an orator, and the other trusting to the power of the populace—violent, reckless, and unscrupulous about his means. These men were Cicero and M. Antony. Being slighted by Caesar, Cicero, during the most dazzling period of the dictator's career, had not taken any direct part in public affairs, but confined himself to the exercise of his oratorical powers; and his orations for Ligarius and King Deiotarus show that he well knew the respect due to the brilliant qualities of his political adversary. He did not, however, hesitate to express his joy at the murder of Caesar, and he was, in fact, the first who went to the murderers in the Capitol; and at the meeting of the senate on the 17th of March, he urgently recommended a general amnesty. Soon he discovered in Antony the desire to follow in the footsteps of Caesar. Antony, who was consul of the year with P. Cornelius Dolabella, endeavoured, above all things, to obtain Cisalpine Gaul as his province, whence he hoped, like Caesar, to pave his way to the sovereignty. Cicero's exertions to unite those who held the same views as he, against Antony, succeeded but imperfectly. His friends were numerous, but timid, and young Octavianus had not yet taken any decided steps. Cicero, moreover, felt that he ought not to act in too hostile a manner against the consul, and under these circumstances he preferred to wait till the next year, and to leave Rome, until the new consuls should enter upon their office. His intention to go to Athens, however, was thwarted by contrary winds. At the same time he was informed that Antony was beginning to show more moderation, that he himself was blamed for his withdrawal,

and that his return was greatly wished for. Cicero accordingly went back to Rome on the 31st of August.

On the following day there was a meeting of the senate. Antony, in order completely to win over the veterans of Caesar, intended to make a proposal to add to the supplications one day in honour of Caesar, and on that day to offer sacrifices to him as to a god. He thereby hoped to discover who were Caesar's and his friends, and who were not; those not appearing being at once regarded as his enemies. Cicero did not make his appearance, declaring that he was too fatigued from his journey, and unwell. Antony was so enraged at this, that, before the assembled senate, he demanded that Cicero's house should be pulled down; and it was not without difficulty that he was induced to confine himself to exact the lawful fine for Cicero's non-appearance in the senate. The supplication for Caesar was passed. On the day following, the 2d of September, Cicero appeared in the senate. Matters had now come to an open rupture between him and Antony. The latter was absent; he could not foresee Cicero's appearance, any more than Cicero could foresee Antony's absence. Cicero then delivered the present oration, the first of the fourteen Philippics, all of which were directed against Antony, but derive their name from the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip, king of Macedonia. This name they deserve; for they are equal to them in fire and animation, and especially in the hatred of the person against whom they are delivered.

In the first part of the speech Cicero explains the motives for his journey to Athens, and the cause of his speedy return (chap. 1 to 4). He then praises the speech of L. Piso, delivered on the 1st of August, against the innovations of Antony, severely censuring the insult offered to him by Antony on the preceding day, and openly avowing that he would have voted against the supplication (chap. 4 to 7). He praises the system of the administration which had been followed ever since the death of Caesar until the 1st of June; because, until then, Antony had committed no arbitrary act, but had done everything with the concurrence of the senate. He then comes to the decree of the senate, by which all the regulations of Caesar (*acta Caesaris*) had been confirmed. He himself approves of it, but cautions the senate against any further acts and ordinances of Antony; he endeavours to represent them as fabrications, and partially as annihilations of the real *acta Caesaris*, and to point out the dangerous and illegal nature of the new ordinances which had been passed by assemblies of the people, and not by the senate. Caesar, e. g., had fixed the administration of the consular provinces at two years; whereas, in the law brought forward by Antony, the period was increased to six years; Caesar had abolished the third decury of the judices, which had been elected from among the people; whereas, according to the new law of Antony, it was restored, and that even without any census, in order to win over its dependent members. Of the same kind was the measure granting an appeal

to the people, when persons were condemned for having used violence (*de vi*), or for high treason (*de majestate*), for Antony evidently wanted thereby to win the favour of the populace (chap. 7 to 11). Cicero is willing to allow even these laws to stand, if a stop were but put to further new arrangements, which could not possibly be based upon the regulations left in writing by Caesar. He further requests that Antony, if he was angry with him for his frank and unreserved discussion of the *acta Caesaris*, should at least treat him as a citizen, and abstain from using violence. In conclusion, he exhorts the consuls, especially Antony, to serve the interests of the state, and not their own, and to seek true glory by submitting to the laws of their country, and not in the destruction and ruin of the republic.

ANTEQUAM de re publica, Patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium et profectionis et reversionis[1] meae. Ego cum sperarem aliquando[2] ad vestrum consilium[3] auctoritatemque rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria.[4] Nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica dejiciebam oculos ex eo die,[5] quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus.[6] In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi,[7] quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Praeclara tum oratio M. Antonii; egregia etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum

[1] *Reversio* is 'the return from a journey before the traveller has reached its end,' while *reditus* denotes the return from a journey after the traveller has reached his destination.

[2] Namely, immediately after the ides of March, the day on which Caesar was murdered.

[3] After Caesar's death, the senate was again at the head of the state.

[4] These two words here have a double meaning, Cicero himself being both a *vir consularis* and *senatorius*.

[5] That is, the 17th of March, xvi. kal. April; see *Phil.* ii. 35.

[6] Namely, *ab Antonio*. On the third day after the murder of Caesar, Antony convoked the senate in the temple of Tellus (at the southern end of the Forum), which was near to his house, in order not to be obliged to go to the curia, which was near the Capitol; because he had there to dread the partisans of the conspirators.

[7] Namely, the word ἀμνηστία or μὴ μνησικακήσειν, which we express by 'amnesty.' The word ἀμνηστία had been first used at Athens in B.C. 403, when, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, a general amnesty was proclaimed.

et per liberos[1] ejus cum praestantissimis[2] civibus confirmata est. Atque his principiis reliqua consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas habebat domi de re publica, principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem res optimas deferebat;[3] nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis[4] reperiebatur; summa constantia ad ea, quae quaesita erant, respondebat. Num qui exules restituti? Unum[5] aiebat, praeterea neminem. Num immunitates[6] datae? Nullae, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio,[7] clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur.[8] Multa praetereo, eaque praeclara; ad singulare enim M. Antonii factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae jam vim regiae potestatis obsederat,[9] funditus ex re publica sustulit. De qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit; quo recitato, auctoritatem ejus summo studio secuti sumus eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.

2. Lux quaedam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato; magnumque pignus ab eo[10] rei publicae datum se liberam civitatem esse

[1] Antony sent his son to the Capitol as a hostage, to insure the murderers that they might come down without any fear of danger. See below, chap. 13.

[2] Cicero applies this epithet to the murderers, because he was an enemy of Caesar and of tyranny in general.

[3] *Deferebat*, stronger than *referebat;* for he not only reported, but transferred and intrusted.

[4] 'In the will of Caesar,' or in his last regulations, which were raised to the authority of laws, or treated as laws by the will of, and by their publication by, Antony.

[5] Namely, Sex. Clodius, whom Caesar recalled, as Cicero elsewhere remarks, at the request of Antony.

[6] Such exemptions from taxes—as Athens, for example, was always enjoying—were injurious to the public treasury, and seem to have been granted by the rulers usually for the purpose of increasing their personal influence, and the number of their followers.

[7] Ser. Sulpicius was consul in B.C. 51, and a celebrated lawyer. See page 260, note 1.

[8] Especially to avoid the suspicion of forgery. New laws were exhibited to the public, engraved upon brass tables.

[9] The *regia potestas* consisted chiefly in the long duration of the dictatorship, which, in the early times of the republic, was conferred only for a short period, and for definite purposes. Caesar had made it a permanent office. *Obsederat*, equivalent to *occupaverat*.

[10] *Ab eo;* that is, *ab Antonio*. To *datum* supply *videbatur*.

velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod[1] saepe justum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset. Liberatus periculo caedis paucis post diebus senatus; uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in C. Marii nomen invaserat.[2] Atque haec omnia communiter cum collega.[3] Alia porro propria Dolabellae; quae, nisi collega abfuisset,[4] credo eis futura fuisse communia. Nam, cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum, idque manaret in dies latius iidemque bustum[5] in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam[6] sepulturam effecerant, et quotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audaces sceleratosque servos,[7] tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse. Ecce enim Kalendis Juniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant, mutata omnia; nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum[8] et absente populo et invito.

[1] *Quod* involves the idea of 'although;' whence the subjunctive. See *Gram.* § 360, 3, note 2.

[2] A slave of the name of Amatius, who gave himself out as a son of C. Marius, the conqueror of the Teutones and Cimbri, had caused all kinds of mischief and disturbances at Rome in the time of Caesar, until the latter sent him into exile. On receiving the news of Caesar's death, he returned to Rome, and again commenced his revolutionary movements, especially against the senate; but Antony cast him into prison, and ordered him to be put to death.

[3] After Caesar's death, P. Cornelius Dolabella was the colleague of Antony in the consulship.

[4] During the months of April and May, Antony had been travelling about to make himself acquainted with the colonies of the veterans, and with their dispositions.

[5] The people had set up in the Forum a column twenty feet high, of Numidian stone, and with the inscription *Parenti Patriae;* at this pillar sacrifices and prayers were offered, disputes were settled, and Caesar was called upon in oaths, as though he were a god.

[6] *Insepultam*, equivalent to *infaustam*. The Greeks often use similar combinations, as δῶρον ἄδωρον, an evil gift; γάμος ἄγαμος, an unhappy marriage, *nuptiae innuptae*. So here, τάφος ἄταφος, *insepulta sepultura*. The whole of this passage refers to the burning of Caesar's body in the Forum.

[7] The slaves were crucified; but the freeborn (*liberi*) were thrown down the Tarpeian rock.

[8] That is, *per infimam plebem*, so that to the following *absente populo* we have to supply *Romano*. Antony did not consult the *Roman people*, but carried whatever he wished by means of the venal and corrupted

Consules designati[1] negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea, cujus a cervicibus jugum servile dejecerant: quos tamen ipsi consules et in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant. Veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat,[2] non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur.[3] Quae cum audire mallem quam videre haberemque jus legationis liberum,[4] ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Januariis,[5] quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

3. Exposui, Patres conscripti, profectionis consilium; nunc reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Cum Brundisium[6] iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus[7] veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur; quae tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima[8] plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret,[9] si essem commoratus. Cum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi,[10] ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum, unde conscenderam. Cumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis et familiaris mei,

portion of the people. The senate, which alone had the right to convoke the comitia, was altogether disregarded.

[1] The consuls elect for B.C. 43 were C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius.

[2] Namely, by confirming the rewards which Caesar had fixed upon for the veterans.

[3] Especially by being called upon to take vengeance on the enemies and murderers of Caesar.

[4] Senators were allowed to quit Italy for a certain time without having any special commission. On their journey, and wherever they stayed, they enjoyed the honours and distinctions of real ambassadors, but more especially the *hospitium publicum*.

[5] Namely, of the year B.C. 43, the day on which Hirtius and Pansa were to enter upon their consulship.

[6] Brundisium, on the coast of Calabria, was the port from which the Romans usually crossed over to Epirus (Dyrrhachium), whence they proceeded to any part of Greece.

[7] That is, on the 1st of August.

[8] In consequence of his proceedings against Verres; Cicero also was the patronus of the Sicilians.

[9] Especially with Antony and his party.

[10] To *conscendi* supply *navem*, 'I embarked.'

postridieque apud eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Rhegini complures ad me venerunt; ex his quidam Roma recentes:[1] a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii contionem,[2] quae mihi ita placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti[3] affertur et Cassii; quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant[4] praeterea (fit enim plerumque, ut ii, qui boni quid volunt afferre, affingant aliquid, quo faciant id, quod nuntiant, laetius), rem conventuram; Kalendis[5] senatum frequentem fore; Antonium repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis Galliis[6] ad auctoritatem senatus esse redditurum.

4. Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque remi neque venti satisfacerent: non quo me ad tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius, quam cuperem, rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam[7] devectus, Brutum vidi;[8] quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter, atque ipse eram, commotum esse vidi. Erectus enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia, nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro[9] querebatur. Exque eo primum cognovi, quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis[10] oratio: qui

[1] 'Persons who had recently come from Rome.'

[2] This *contio* probably had reference to the new organisation of the affairs of the republic.

[3] In which Brutus and Cassius promised always to remain in exile, if thereby they could do good to the state.

[4] To *addebant* supply, as its subject, *municipes Rhegini*.

[5] These are the next kalends; that is, the 1st of September.

[6] Antony demanded for himself Gallia Cisalpina, which Caesar had promised to Decimus Brutus.

[7] Velia, a town on the western coast of Lucania.

[8] In order to rescue Brutus and Cassius from the vengeance of the veterans, the senate had sent them from Rome with the commission to see that the city was provided with supplies of corn; and as both were praetors, it had been resolved that they should be allowed to remain absent from Rome more than ten days.

[9] That is, *senatorum populique Romani*.

[10] L. Piso, an enemy of Cicero, who had several times spoken against him; he had been consul in B.C. 58. The reason why Piso was then hostile to Antony, and spoke against his arbitrary measures, is unknown.

quamquam parum erat (id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram), a quibus debuerat, adjutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio (quo quid potest esse gravius?) et omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi, magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut sequerer, properavi, quem praesentes non sunt secuti: non ut proficerem aliquid (neque enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram), sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset (multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam[1] etiam praeterque fatum), hujus tamen diei[2] vocem testem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se[3] voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilii[4] causam, Patres conscripti, probatam vobis esse confido, priusquam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antonii injuria: cui sum amicus idque me nonnullo ejus officio[5] debere esse prae me semper tuli.

5. Quid tandem erat causae, cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer? Solusne aberam? an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis? an ea res agebatur, ut etiam aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur;[6] ad quam causam etiam Appium illum et caecum et senem delatum esse memoriae proditum est. De supplicationibus[7] referebatur; quo in genere senatores deesse non solent.[8] Coguntur enim non pignoribus,[9] sed eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia; quod idem

[1] In such extraordinary times, even the impossible becomes possible, and requires to be provided against.

[2] Namely, the day on which I am now speaking.

[3] See Zumpt, § 550.

[4] Namely, of my journey and my return.

[5] The friendly service of Antony consisted in his sparing Cicero, a Pompeian, after the battle of Pharsalus, while he might have ordered him who was not yet pardoned to be put to death. Cicero was then staying at Brundisium.

[6] *Hannibal—agebatur.* Two such important events as the fear of Hannibal's approach after his brilliant victories, and Pyrrhus's proposals of peace, which were rejected on the advice of Appius Claudius the Blind, are justly used proverbially of any dangerous or desperate condition of the state.

[7] Namely, in honour of Caesar, to propitiate him and the gods.

[8] Especially if it is done for the good of the state, a question which Cicero here leaves undecided.

[9] The consuls sometimes took a pledge from senators, which, in case of disobedience, they retained. Here the expression is rather rhetorical, Antony having only threatened Cicero.

fit, cum de triumpho refertur. Ita sine cura consules sunt, ut paene liberum sit senatori non adesse. Qui cum mihi mos notus esset cumque e via languerem et mihimet displicerem,[1] misi pro amicitia,[2] qui hoc ei diceret. At ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter. Cujus enim maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine auderet, se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus sententia aedificatam[3] domum? Quis autem unquam tanto damno senatorem coëgit? aut quid est ultra pignus aut multam?[4] Quod si scisset, quam sententiam dicturus essem, remisisset aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi.

6. An me censetis, Patres conscripti, quod vos inviti[5] secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia[6] cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpiabiles[7] religiones in rem publicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo? Nihil dico, cui.[8] Fuerit ille Brutus,[9] qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit: adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum conjungerem cum immortalium religione; ut cujus sepulcrum usquam exstet, ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero eam sententiam dixissem, Patres conscripti, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui

[1] 'Since I was not inclined,' in consequence of my indisposition.

[2] 'As I could do in consequence of our friendship.'

[3] Cicero's house, which had been destroyed by the tribune P. Clodius, had been splendidly restored by the senate.

[4] 'Is there any severer punishment than that of a pledge or fine?' To *sententiam* supply *de supplicatione*.

[5] Cicero excuses the senate which had on the preceding day sanctioned the proposal of Antony.

[6] *Parentalia* were due to Caesar, but not *supplicationes*, which belong to the gods alone.

[7] By a simultaneous celebration of *supplicationes* and *parentalia*, the state would render itself guilty of an inexpiable crime.

[8] But the senate, nevertheless, knows that Cicero meant no one but Caesar.

[9] That L. Junius Brutus who overthrew the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus was, according to the general belief, the ancestor of the murderer of Caesar, although the former was a patrician, and the latter a plebeian.

accidisset[1] gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si fames, facile possem defendere; quae partim jam sunt, partim timeo ne impendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant dii immortales velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini, qui decrevit invitus. Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas[2] modo veniendi in hunc locum[3] sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! Non quo profici potuerit aliquid: sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore,[4] dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos, L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati, rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne voltu quidem assensus est. Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam necessaria. Neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco[5] dicunt. Alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco: alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro. Quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire non modo metus, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae.

7. Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo L. Pisoni, qui non, quid efficere posset in re publica, cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet: deinde a vobis, Patres conscripti, peto, ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

Primum igitur acta[6] Caesaris servanda censeo; non quo

[1] Namely, in consequence of the disrespect shown towards the gods.

[2] Antony had caused the assembly to be surrounded with soldiers, so that the access was only granted, but was not free.

[3] Cicero delivered this speech in the temple of Concord.

[4] To *illo honore* supply *consulari*. *Unus* refers to Piso, with whom the senate did not agree.

[5] 'Among the consulars.' It sometimes happened that a person, for the sake of distinction, was allowed to sit and vote among the consulars, though he had never been either consul or praetor.

[6] After the death of Caesar, it was proposed in the senate to annul all his regulations; but as disturbances and even civil war were appre-

probem (quis enim id quidem potest?): sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem adesset Antonius, modo sine advocatis.[1] Sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit.[2] Doceret me vel potius vos, Patres conscripti, quemadmodum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet. An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis, ne prolatis[3] quidem, sed tantummodo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt: quae ille in aes incidit, in quo populi jussa perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo habebuntur? Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris, quam leges Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit,[4] id erit fixum, quod idem non facere potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit. Quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt, quam a vivo beneficia per omnes annos tributa et data. Sed ea non muto, non moveo; summo etiam studio praeclara illius acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis[5] maneret! cruenta[6] illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit![7] Ecquid est, quod tam proprie dici possit actum ejus, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi: leges Sempronia[8]

hended, it was resolved to sanction them all. Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, immediately after her husband's death, had taken all his papers and money to Antony, to save them from the conspirators. But Antony had enticed into his house Fulvius, Caesar's secretary, and, with his assistance, had arbitrarily altered the documents left by Caesar, or forged new ones, and had thus abused the dictator's name, to the detriment of the state.

[1] 'Without his satellites,' by whose aid he keeps the senate in submission.

[2] Since I was not permitted to be ill.

[3] Antony did not even produce these forged documents, but only referred to them.

[4] As Antony had done on many occasions. *Quod—potuit*, 'which he himself was unable to keep.'

[5] To *ad Opis* supply *aedem*. In the Temple of Saturn and Ops, which contained the aerarium, 700,000,000 of sesterces had been deposited by Caesar; but Antony took possession of this money to pay his own debts.

[6] Because it had been amassed by violence.

[7] That is, before Antony got the *acta Caesaris* into his hands, and emended them.

[8] The celebrated agrarian and other laws.

proferentur. Quaere Sullae: Corneliae.[1] Quid? Cn. Pompeii tertius[2] consulatus in quibus actis constitit? Nempe in legibus. De Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga: leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse; chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret[3] aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo; quibusdam etiam in rebus conniveo: in maximis vero rebus, id est, legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi[4] ferendum non puto.

8. Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur?[5] Hac lege sublata, videnturne vobis Caesaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria,[6] nonne omnes judiciariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta[7] Caesaris defenditis, qui leges ejus evertitis? Nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit in libellum, id numerabitur in actis et quamvis iniquum et inutile sit defendetur: quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis[8] tulit, id in actis Caesaris non habebitur.

[1] For example, the *lex judiciaria*, which transferred the judicia from the equites to the senate; the *lex tribunicia*, which deprived the tribunes of the right of making legislative proposals, &c.

[2] In B.C. 52, when Pompey was consul without a colleague, and when he enacted severer punishments for bribery at elections.

[3] 'He would not propose them as laws,' 'not make them laws.'

[4] The actual laws of Caesar must not be annulled by these written regulations.

[5] The time of the administration had until then been irregular; it had lasted three, five, and one year. Caesar himself had been governor of Gaul for nine years, and during that period had collected his powers against Pompey. When dictator, he enacted these laws to prevent others doing that which might render them dangerous to himself.

[6] According to the law of the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta, of the year B.C. 70, the senators, equites, and tribuni aerarii, conjointly formed the courts of justice. They were selected by the praetor urbanus, and acted by turns as judges in certain cases. After some modifications introduced by Pompey, Caesar reduced the number of the decuriae from three to two, by excluding the tribuni aerarii. M. Antony, however, again added the third decuria, which, however, by his law was formed of men of the lowest orders. Subsequently, under Octavianus, this innovation of Antony was abolished. At a still later time Augustus added a fourth, and Caligula a fifth centuria.

[7] The *leges* are the true *acta Caesaris*, and not his posthumous written regulations, which have never been made laws in due form.

[8] The bills passed as laws by the comitia centuriata were called *populiscita*, and those passed by the comitia tributa, *plebiscita*; but it is uncertain whether the real comitia centuriata are meant here,

At quae est ista tertia decuria?—Centurionum, inquit.—Quid? isti ordini[1] judicatus lege Julia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat?—Census praefiniebatur,[2] inquit.—Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano. Itaque viri fortissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordines duxerunt, res et judicant et judicaverunt.—Non quaero, inquit, istos. Quicunque[3] ordinem duxit, judicet.—At si ferretis, quicunque equo meruisset, quod est lautius, nemini probaretis;[4] in judice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas.—Non quaero, inquit, ista: addo etiam judices manipulares ex legione Alaudarum.[5] Aliter enim nostri[6] negant posse se salvos esse.—O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad judicandum nec opinantes vocatis! Hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tertia decuria judicent, qui libere judicare non audeant. In quo quantus error est, dii immortales! eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate judicandi sordes suas eluet laborabitque, ut honestis decuriis potius dignus videatur, quam in turpem[7] jure conjectus.

9. Altera promulgata lex est, ut de vi[8] et de majestate damnati ad populum provocent, si velint. Haec utrum

since, after the year B. C. 241, legislation seems to have belonged to the comitia tributa, which from that time consisted of a combination of the centuries and tribes.

[1] Namely, of centurions, for if they possessed the census of equites or senators, they might be chosen as *judices*.

[2] Especially by Pompey, who fixed so high a census, that for many equites it was impossible to become *judices*.

[3] 'Every centurion,' even the poorest.

[4] Because you would thereby exclude the centurions as an inferior order, although they, too, may possess *fortuna* and *dignitas*.

[5] The *legio Alaudarum* consisted of old soldiers, who had served in Gaul. The name itself is Gallic. From this distinguished legion Antony wanted to choose not only centurions, but even common soldiers into the courts of justice.

[6] The friends of Antony require such a third class for their own lawsuits, if they are to win them, because such judices being in a state of dependence, give their verdicts as they are desired.

[7] That is, *in tertiam*. Antony and his friends will be disappointed in this third class, which will endeavour honestly and fairly to co-operate with the first two classes, that it may not be said of it that it is justly considered inferior to the two others.

[8] Namely, the *lex Plautia*, called after the tribune Q. Plautius, with whose assistance Q. Catulus, its author, carried it (B. C. 78). It seems that Caesar had abolished the appeal to the people in the case of *persons* condemned for violence or high treason. See below.

tandem lex est, an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim hodie, cujus intersit istam legem manere? Nemo reus est legibus illis: nemo, quem futurum putemus. Armis enim gesta nunquam profecto in judicium vocabuntur.—At res popularis.[1]—Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! Omnes enim jam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis ejus ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius, quam qui majestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum, damnatum judicio, ad eam ipsam vim[2] reverti, propter quam sit jure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? quasi vero id agatur, ut quisquam provocet. Id agitur, id fertur, ne quis omnino unquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur, qui reo condemnato objici se multitudini conductae velit? aut judex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim protrahatur? Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud adhortari adolescentes, ut turbulenti, ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicius[3] impelli non poterit his duabus quaestionibus de vi et de majestate sublatis? Quid? quod obrogatur[4] legibus Caesaris, quae jubent, ei, qui de vi, item qui majestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, Patres conscripti, qui illa nunquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem, quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas[5] videtis.

[1] *Popularis*, 'flattering and honourable to the people.' We must here supply *inquit Antonius*.

[2] Because the condemned might acquire an influence upon the judgment of the people to whom he appealed.

[3] That is, *tribuni furibundi*, *seditiosi*, *turbulenti*: the tribunes are here considered as injurious to the state as well as to individuals, because their power consisted especially in doing evil.

[4] *Obrogare*, 'to oppose a new law to an old one,' by which the latter becomes powerless; *abrogare* or *rescindere*, on the other hand, signifies 'to abolish a law altogether.'

[5] 'Already exhibited on brass tables for every one's inspection.'

10. De exilio reducti a mortuo; civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus[1] et provinciis universis a mortuo; immunitatibus[2] infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum optimo, auctore[3] domo prolata, defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse[4] nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de judiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges, nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus? Ac de iis tamen legibus, quae promulgatae[5] sunt, saltem queri possumus: de iis, quae jam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit. Illae enim sine ulla promulgatione[6] latae sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem, quid sit, cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrûm, Patres conscripti, bonis tribunis[7] plebi leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus, qui intercedant; paratos, qui rem publicam religione[8] defendant; vacui metu esse debemus.—Quas tu mihi, inquit, intercessiones, quas religiones?[9]—Eas scilicet, quibus rei publicae salus continetur. — Negligimus ista et nimis antiqua et stulta ducimus. Forum saepietur; omnes claudentur aditus; armati in praesidiis multis locis collocabuntur. —Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit; et in aes incidi jubebitis, credo, illa legitima: CONSULES POPULUM JURE ROGAVERUNT (hocine a majoribus accepimus jus rogandi?)[10] POPULUSQUE JURE SCIVIT. Qui populus? isne, qui

[1] Such as those which had been granted to the inhabitants of Sicily, a thing which had never been thought of in the lifetime of Caesar.

[2] In *Phil.* ii. 38, for example, it is mentioned that Crete was thus exempted from taxes.

[3] That is, *Antonio*, who is ironically called *optimo*. *Domo*, 'from his house;' to describe their obscure and equivocal origin.

[4] *Ipse* is Caesar.

[5] Published as bills which were yet to become law; *quae jam latae dicuntur*, are laws which were mentioned as passed and enforced even in the lifetime of Caesar.

[6] Consequently in a violent manner, and contrary to the usage of the republic.

[7] *Bonis tribunis* is an ablative absolute, 'so long as we have good tribunes.'

[8] The ancient Romans, in particular, conscientiously observed the signs in the victims, and made use of them to prevent the carrying of pernicious laws.

[9] The answers of Antony are intentionally given in a rude and coarse form.

[10] This is said with bitter irony: the ancient forms are preserved, while violence and lawlessness dictate the laws.

exclusus est? Quo jure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne sublatum est? Atque ego haec dico de futuris; quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, quae vitari possint: quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis: de quibus est integrum vobis. Demonstro vitia: tollite! Denuntio vim, arma: removete!

11. Irasci quidem vos[1] mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror. Novi facilitatem tuam. Collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna,[2] quae bona ipsi videtur, mihi, ne gravius quidpiam dicam, avorum[3] et avunculi[4] sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatior videretur: sed eum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem, quam sit odiosum habere iratum eundem et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladiorum sit impunitas.[5] Sed proponam jus, ut opinor, aequum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam ejus aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quominus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo. Sin consuetudinem meam, quam in re publica semper habui, tenuero, id est, si libere, quae sentiam, de re publica dixero: primum deprecor, ne irascatur; deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto, ut sic irascatur, ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa: iis, qui pro re publica, quae ipsis visa erunt, dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest aequius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam ejus familiaribus dictum est, omnis eum, quae habetur contra voluntatem ejus, oratio graviter offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia,[6] feremus amici naturam. Sed iidem illi ita mecum: 'Non idem tibi adversario Caesaris licebit, quod Pisoni socero:' et simul admonent quiddam,[7] quod

[1] *Vos* refers to both Antony and Dolabella.

[2] Antony having until then succeeded in everything.

[3] His paternal grandfather was the celebrated orator M. Antonius, who was consul in B. C. 99; and his grandfather on his mother's side was L. Julius Caesar, consul in B. C. 90.

[4] His uncle, L. Julius Caesar, was consul in B. C. 64.

[5] Namely, in consequence of the partial suppression of the laws *de vi* and *de majestate*.

[6] 'Even when it is free from personal attacks' (*contumelia*).

[7] *Quiddam*; that is, more than mere anger—death itself.

cavebimus; nec crit justior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis.[1]

12. Sed per deos immortales! te enim intuens, Dolabella, qui es mihi carissimus, non possum de utriusque vestrûm errore[2] reticere. Credo enim vos, nobiles homines, magna quaedam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas[3] et populo Romano minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupisse. Ea est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum, quae cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros paullisper esse expertum viderem. Quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem laetiorem, quam cum expiato foro,[4] dissipato concursu impiorum,[5] principibus sceleris poena affectis, urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata te domum recepisti? Cujus ordinis, cujus generis, cujus denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in iis rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum obliti, propter quas[6] fuerant tibi offensi, significarunt se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abjecisse. Hanc tu, P. Dolabella (magno loquor cum dolore), hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequo animo tantam dignitatem deponere?

13. Tu autem, M. Antoni, (absentem enim appello) unum

[1] If Antony is absent from the senate in consequence of illness, I may with the same justice keep at home when I have reason to fear death.

[2] *Error*, 'the wrong course you have adopted.'

[3] *Opes violentae*, 'usurped power,' 'absolutism,' which Caesar had aimed at.

[4] Namely, by the removal of the column erected in honour of Caesar. See chap. 5.

[5] Because it could not but provoke the anger of the gods, divine honours being paid to a mortal.

[6] Cicero here alludes to the disturbances and tumults which Dolabella had created at Rome, at the time of the battle of Pharsalus, for the purpose of getting rid of his debts. The violence he committed was so great, that he despaired of obtaining Caesar's pardon, and wanted to end by a last and desperate act. Caesar, however, pardoned him.

illum diem, quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus iis mensibus, quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes beatum[1] putant, anteponis? Quae fuit oratio de concordia! quanto metu veterani,[2] quanta sollicitudine civitas tum a te liberata est! Cum collegam tuum, depositis inimicitiis,[3] oblitus auspicia[4] a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiata, illo primum die collegam tibi esse voluisti, tuus parvus filius[5] in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit, quo senatus die laetior? quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nulla in contione unquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur; quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo, altero,[6] tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie afferre rei publicae: maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen sustulisti. Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii[7] scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Marcum Manlium vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti. Num te, cum haec pro salute rei publicae tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis, num gloriae poenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci, ut suspicer te pecunia captum: licet, quod cuique libet, loquatur;[8] credere non est necesse. Nihil enim unquam in te sordidum, nihil humile

[1] Because you are surrounded by a force which is dangerous to the state.

[2] The donations bequeathed by Caesar to his veterans, who, after his death, had reason to fear that they should receive nothing, were afterwards sanctioned. To some extent the senate was obliged to sanction them, for the veterans literally besieged and intimidated the senators.

[3] Antony had been an opponent of Dolabella in the above-mentioned disturbances.

[4] After Dolabella had been elected consul by the comitia of the centuries, Antony brought forward unfavourable signs of the victims against him, but he nevertheless afterwards recognised him as his colleague.

[5] Compare above, chap. 1.

[6] *Proximo, altero*; that is, from the 18th to the 20th of March.

[7] The crime of M. Manlius, the deliverer of the Capitol, was, that he supported plebeians who were oppressed by debts. In consequence of this, he was charged with aiming at the tyrannis, and was thrown down the Tarpeian rock, B. C. 383.

[8] People indeed speak of it, but I do not believe it.

cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici[1] depravare nonnunquam: sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam, ut culpam, sic etiam suspicionem vitare potuisses!

14. Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes, et metui a civibus tuis quam diligi malis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus etiam in fabulis[2] illi ipsi, qui '*Oderint, dum metuant*,' dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam, Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem[3] mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitate. Itaque, ut omittam res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum ejus supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae[4] dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.

Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest, ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cujusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quaeso, et majores tuos respice atque ita guberna rem publicam, ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant; sine quo nec beatus nec clarus esse quisquam potest.

15. Populi quidem Romani judicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus[5] clamores innumerabilium civium? quid po-

[1] This is an allusion to Fulvia, Antony's wife, who must have been notorious for her avarice. Antony was her third husband, she having before been married to C. Curio and P. Clodius, both worthless men.

[2] As, for example, in the tragedy 'Atreus' of the poet L. Accius. The fearful cruelty of Atreus against Thyestes is well known.

[3] Not only 'eternal life,' but a life without danger or difficulty.

[4] This alludes to the tyranny exercised by Cinna, in conjunction with Marius. M. Antonius, and many other senators, were murdered by their orders, in B.C. 87.

[5] *Gladiatoribus*, 'at the gladiatorial fights.' The *quid* is governed by some such word as *significant*, which must be supplied. *Clamores*,

puli versus ?[1] quid Pompeii statuae plausus infiniti ? quid duobus tribunis plebi,[2] qui vobis adversantur ? Parumne haec significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi voluntatem ? Quid ? Apollinarium ludorum[3] plausus vel testimonia potius et judicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur ? O beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant ! Nisi forte Accio[4] tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto, putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.

Equidem is sum, qui istos plausus, cum popularibus[5] civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim : idemque cum a summis, mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit cumque ii,[6] qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed judicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc contemnitis, quod sensistis, tam caram populo Romano vitam A. Hirtii[7] fuisse ? Satis erat enim probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est ; jucundum amicis, in quo vincit omnes ; carum suis, quibus est carissimus : tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem in quo meminimus ? Certe in nullo.

shouts of applause to those among the spectators who are most liked by the people.

[1] *Versus* here are 'popular songs,' the subjects of which were the death of Caesar, the tyrannicides, and perhaps Antony also.

[2] That is, T. Canutius, a bitter enemy of Antony, and L. Cassius, the brother of the tyrannicide; both were warmly applauded by the people.

[3] The *ludi Apollinares* were celebrated on the 6th of July. This time Antony had their management, M. Brutus, the praetor urbanus, being absent. During these games, at which dramatic plays were performed, the people showed a very strong desire to see the absent Brutus.

[4] On that occasion a play of Accius, entitled 'Tereus,' was performed. Accius flourished about B.C. 100, and had died long before this. The incessant applause here mentioned was not intended for his piece, but for Brutus.

[5] *Popularis* is here used in a contemptuous sense: 'demagogues,' reckless people, who aim at nothing but the favour of the multitude.

[6] *Ii* refers to those *populares* to whom such applause is disagreeable.

[7] A. Hirtius was consul elect for the following year, and the people looked forward to his administration with great hopes. As he was ill, the people publicly prayed for his recovery.

Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortales! quale sit, non interpretamini? Quid eos de vestra vita cogitare censetis, quibus eorum,[1] quos sperant rei publicae consulturos, vita tam cara sit? Cepi fructum, Patres conscripti, reversionis meae: quoniam et ea dixi, ut, quicunque casus consecutus esset, extaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus. Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar. Si minus, quantum potero non tam mihi me quam rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est, quod vixi, vel ad aetatem[2] vel ad gloriam. Huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis[3] reique publicae accesserit.

[1] Namely, of Hirtius and Pansa.

[2] Cicero was then in his sixty-third year.

[3] It would be more useful to you and the state than to me, since I have lived long enough, and enjoyed enough honours.

IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA XIV.

ANTONY was besieging Mutina (Modena) with a view to expel Dec. Brutus from Cisalpine Gaul. The senate had in vain endeavoured to induce Antony to give up his plan, for D. Brutus had obtained Gaul in a lawful way. At last, in the month of January of the year B. C. 43, the new consul, A. Hirtius, and Octavianus, who had drawn away two legions from Antony, and who had received from the senate, on the 2d of January, the title of propraetor, and the supreme command over the army assembled by him, took the field against Antony; but they deferred making an attack until the arrival of the second consul Pansa. He arrived at Bononia (Bologna) on the 14th of April, and on the day following the fight was commenced at once. Pansa was defeated and wounded by Antony near Forum Gallorum (Castel Franco), sixty stadia from Mutina. Meantime Hirtius, who had come to his aid with two legions, met the army of Antony, which was exhausted by the fight and pursuit, and gained a decisive victory over it. At the same time Octavianus successfully defended the common camp near Mutina against an attack of L. Antonius.

In the meantime a report had spread at Rome that Hirtius had been defeated by Antony, and the friends of the latter availed themselves of this report for the purpose of crushing Cicero, of whom they asserted that, as a last effort, he was attempting to make himself dictator. They even intended to send the fasces into his house, and then to murder him during the tumult as a usurper. The tribune Appuleius, however, defended him, and the people declared him a true friend of his country. At this moment there arrived the news of Hirtius' victory; and Cicero, accompanied by the joyous multitude, forthwith ascended the Capitol, to thank the gods for the success they had vouchsafed to his efforts against Antony. The people then accompanied him home in a sort of triumph, praising him as the saviour of the republic.

On the 22d of April, the despatch of Hirtius was read in the senate by the praetor M. Cornutus. It also contained the request to hold a public thanksgiving for the three commanders. The partisans of Antony did not oppose this, but at the same time wished that the matter should now be regarded as settled, and that peace should be restored. P. Servilius, on the other hand, was of opinion that a thanksgiving should not be decreed to the victors as *imperatores*,

although the soldiers had saluted them with that title, nor because they had gained a victory over an enemy, Antony not having been declared an enemy of his country, but because they had quelled the revolt of wicked and audacious men (*supplicatio fiat de improbis et audacibus*). In opposition to this opinion, Cicero, in the present speech (the 14th of his Philippics), maintains that Antony should be declared an enemy of his country, and that the war against him should be continued until his complete annihilation; he further asserts that, as Antony must be regarded as a public enemy, the title of imperator is due to the consuls and Octavianus, especially as the joy of the people at their victory had shown itself so unequivocally towards himself; and that, as *imperatores*, they deserved a public thanksgiving of fifty days. In like manner he declares that the brave soldiers ought to be rewarded; that a splendid monument ought to be erected to those who had fallen in the battle; and that their relatives should receive the rewards promised to those brave men. All these proposals, with their motives, are put together by Cicero at the end of his speech in the usual form of a bill. The senate agreed to everything: Antony was declared an enemy of his country, and the war against him was to be continued. But that war ended in a reconciliation, and in the triumvirate of Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus; and Cicero, with the noblest men of Rome, became the victim of this reconciliation. What a contrast between the praise of Octavianus in this last speech of Cicero, and the fate of the great orator by the proscription of that same Octavianus, whom he calls the rising star of the Roman republic!

Si, ut ex litteris,[1] quae recitatae sunt, Patres conscripti, sceleratissimorum hostium[2] exercitum caesum fusumque cognovi, sic id, quod et omnes maxime optamus et ex ea victoria, quae parta est, consecutum arbitramur, D. Brutum[3] egressum jam Mutina esse cognossem; propter cujus periculum ad saga issemus,[4] propter ejusdem salutem redeun-

[1] That is, from the despatches which the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and the propraetor Caesar Octavianus, had sent to the senate from Mutina.

[2] Namely, of Antony, whose army had been defeated on the 15th of April B.C. 43.

[3] Decimus Brutus had been blockaded by Antony at Mutina ever since the month of December B.C. 44. But after the second engagement on the 27th of April, he succeeded in quitting Mutina, and pursuing Antony, who was now obliged to take refuge in Transalpine Gaul with M. Lepidus and L. Plancus.

[4] *Ad saga ire*, 'to take the military cloak;' that is, *arma capere*, 'to take up arms.' Hence *pristinus vestitus*, equivalent to *toga*, the garment of peace.

dum ad pristinum vestitum sine ulla dubitatione censerem. Ante vero, quam sit ea res,[1] quam avidissime civitas exspectat, allata, laetitia frui satis est maximae praeclarissimaeque pugnae; reditum ad vestitum confectae victoriae reservate. Confectio autem hujus belli est D. Bruti salus. Quae est autem ista sententia, ut in hodiernum diem vestitus mutetur, deinde cras sagati prodeamus? Nos vero cum semel ad eum, quem cupimus optamusque, vestitum redierimus, id agamus, ut eum in perpetuum retineamus.[2] Nam hoc quidem cum turpe est, tum ne diis quidem immortalibus gratum, ab eorum aris, ad quas togati adierimus, ad saga sumenda discedere. Atque animadverto, Patres conscripti, quosdam huic favere sententiae;[3] quorum ea mens idque consilium est, ut, cum videant gloriosissimum illum D. Bruto futurum diem, quo die propter ejus salutem redierimus,[4] hunc tantum ei fructum[5] eripere cupiant, ne memoriae posteritatique prodatur propter unius civis periculum populum Romanum ad saga isse, propter ejusdem salutem redisse ad togas. Tollite hanc: nullam tam pravae sententiae causam reperietis. Vos vero, Patres conscripti, conservate auctoritatem vestram, manete in sententia, tenete vestra memoria, quod saepe ostendistis, hujus totius belli in unius viri fortissimi et maximi vita positum esse discrimen.

2. Ad D. Brutum liberandum legati[6] missi principes civitatis, qui illi hosti ac parricidae denuntiarent, ut a Mutina discederet; ejusdem D. Bruti conservandi gratia consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius, cujus imbecillitatem valetudinis animi virtus et spes victoriae confirmavit: Caesar,[7] cum exercitu per se[8] comparato primis pestibus

[1] *Ea res;* namely, *Brutum Mutina egressum esse. Laetitia pugnae,* 'joy at the battle.'

[2] That is, that we may enjoy peace for ever.

[3] To *sententiae* supply *cum turpe esse, tum ne diis quidem immortalibus gratum,* &c.

[4] To *redierimus* supply *ad togam,* or *ad pristinum vestitum.*

[5] Namely, our affection and friendship.

[6] Namely, some consulars, whence they are called *principes.* They had been sent on the 4th of January B. C. 43.

[7] Caesar Octavianus is meant.

[8] That is, 'by his private means.' By his liberality Octavianus had contrived to collect an army in Campania, and had drawn away two

rem publicam liberasset, ne quid postea sceleris oriretur, profectus est[1] ad eundem Brutum liberandum vicitque dolorem aliquem domesticum[2] patriae caritate. Quid C. Pansa egit aliud delectibus habendis, pecunia comparanda, senatus consultis faciendis gravissimis in Antonium, nobis cohortandis, populo Romano ad causam libertatis vocando, nisi ut D. Brutus liberaretur? A quo populus Romanus frequens ita salutem D. Bruti una voce depoposcit, ut eam non solum commodis suis,[3] sed etiam necessitati victus[4] anteferret. Quod sperare nos quidem debemus, Patres conscripti, aut inibi[5] esse aut jam esse confectum; sed spei fructum rei convenit et eventui reservari, ne aut deorum immortalium beneficium festinatione praeripuisse aut vim fortunae stultitia contempsisse videamur.

Sed quoniam significatio vestra satis declarat, quid hac de re sentiatis, ad litteras veniam, quae sunt a consulibus et a propraetore[6] missae, si pauca ante, quae ad ipsas litteras pertineant, dixero.

3. Imbuti gladii, Patres conscripti, legionum exercituumque nostrorum vel madefacti potius duobus[7] duorum consulum, tertio Caesaris proelio. Si hostium fuit ille sanguis, summa militum pietas: nefarium scelus, si civium. Quousque igitur is, qui omnes hostes scelere superavit,[8] nomine hostis carebit? Nisi[9] mucrones etiam nostrorum militum tremere voltis dubitantes, utrum in cive, an in

legions from Antony, whereby he prevented him from marching from Brundisium against Rome. Antony then turned northward against D. Brutus. The *primae pestes* is that intended march of Antony against Rome.

[1] According to a decree of the senate, passed on the 2d of January B.C. 43.

[2] This alludes to the murder of Octavianus' adoptive father.

[3] *Commodis suis*, because he (Pansa) was a partisan of Caesar.

[4] Namely, by the declaration of war; for when the army was ready to march into the field, commerce was interrupted, and all the shops were shut.

[5] *Inibi esse* is equivalent to *in eo esse*, 'to be near at hand.'

[6] That is, *ab Octaviano*.

[7] See the particulars in chap. 9. *Madefacti*, 'wetted,' is less strong than *imbuti*; as if Cicero meant to say, that enough of blood had not yet been shed.

[8] Because Antony caused the swords of our soldiers to be dyed with the blood of his fellow-citizens.

[9] 'Unless you wish—since you are in doubt as to whether you should consider Antony as a citizen or as an enemy.'

hoste figantur. Supplicationem decernis;[1] hostem non appellas. Gratae vero nostrae diis immortalibus gratulationes erunt, gratae victimae, cum interfecta sit civium multitudo![2] *De improbis et audacibus:*[3] nam sic eos appellat clarissimus vir; quae sunt urbanarum maledicta litium,[4] non inustae belli internecini[5] notae. Testamenta, credo, subjiciunt, aut ejiciunt vicinos,[6] aut adolescentulos circumscribunt; his enim vitiis affectos et talibus malos et audaces appellare solet consuetudo. Bellum inexpiabile infert quattuor consulibus[7] unus omnium latronum teterrimus: gerit idem bellum cum senatu populoque Romano; omnibus (quamquam ruit ipse suis cladibus) pestem, vastitatem, cruciatum, tormenta denuntiat; Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus,[8] quod nulla barbaria posset agnoscere,[9] id suo consilio factum esse testatur; quaeque esset facturus in hac urbe, nisi eum hic ipse[10] Juppiter ab hoc templo atque moenibus reppulisset, declaravit in Parmensium[11] calamitate, quos, optimos viros honestissimosque homines, maxime cum auctoritate hujus ordinis populique Romani dignitate conjunctos crudelissimis exemplis interemit propudium illud et portentum, L. Antonius,[12] insigne odium omnium hominum vel, si etiam dii oderint, quos oportet, deorum. Refugit animus, Patres conscripti, eaque dicere reformidat, quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et conjugibus effecerit. Quas enim turpitudines Antonii libenter

[1] *Decernis*, equivalent to *decernitis;* but refers more especially to the person who had proposed the supplicatio, P. Servilius Vatia, who is immediately after called *clarissimus vir.*

[2] *Gratae—multitudo;* these words are ironical.

[3] Supply *supplicatio fiat.*

[4] *Urbanae lites*, 'disturbances within the walls of the city,' such as family disputes, which are of less importance.

[5] 'Of a war for life and death,' 'internecine war.' *Nota inusta*, 'an ineffaceable stain,' or 'blot.'

[6] Especially the poor and defenceless.

[7] For D. Brutus and L. Plancus were consuls elect even in the time of Caesar.

[8] Dolabella had cruelly murdered C. Trebonius, the propraetor of Asia, and one of the murderers of Caesar, at Smyrna.

[9] Namely, as worthy of a barbarian.

[10] Namely, in whose temple the senate was assembled.

[11] This happened before the first battle near Mutina.

[12] L. Antonius was the brother of M. Antony; he is elsewhere called *gladiator Asiaticus.* After the war of Mutina, he was pursued by L. Plancus.

pervolgatusque tribuendus iis, quibus etiam novi[1] singulares-que debentur.

5. An, si quis Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Thracum mille aut duo milia occidisset, hac consuetudine, quae increbruit,[2] imperatorem appellaret senatus: tot legionibus caesis, tanta multitudine hostium interfecta—hostium dico? ita, inquam, hostium; quamvis hoc isti hostes domestici nolint:[3]—clarissimis ducibus supplicationum honorem tribuemus, imperatorium nomen adimemus? Quanto enim honore, laetitia, gratulatione in hoc templum ingredi debent illi ipsi hujus urbis liberatores,[4] cum hesterno die propter eorum res gestas me ovantem[5] et prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit, domum inde reduxerit? Is enim demum est, mea quidem sententia, justus triumphus ac verus, cum bene de re publica meritis[6] testimonium a consensu civitatis datur. Nam sive in communi gaudio populi Romani uni[7] gratulabantur, magnum judicium; sive uni gratias agebant, eo majus; sive utrumque, nihil magnificentius excogitari potest.

Tu igitur ipse de te? dixerit quispiam. Equidem invitus: sed injuriae dolor[8] facit me praeter consuetudinem gloriosum. Nonne satis est ab hominibus virtutis ignaris gratiam bene merentibus non referri? Etiam in eos, qui omnes suas curas in rei publicae salute defigunt, impetus, crimen invidiaque quaeretur? Scitis enim per hos dies creberrimum fuisse sermonem me pridie Vinalia,[9] qui dies hodie est, cum fascibus descensurum.[10] In aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse confictum, non in

[1] That is, even better *honores* than the title of *imperator*.

[2] Namely, of late, within the last twenty years.

[3] Either that the defeat should become known, or that those who are defeated should be considered as the enemies of our country.

[4] Namely, Hirtius, Pansa, and Octavianus.

[5] Alludes to the joyful gratitude which the people had shown to Cicero.

[6] Cicero here speaks with self-respect, and a conscious feeling of the years in which he himself had acted a prominent part.

[7] *Uni*; that is, *mihi, Ciceroni.*

[8] *Injuriae dolor*, 'the grief at the injustice done to me,' as described below.

[9] The *Vinalia* (*priora*) was a festival at which the wine made during the preceding autumn was tasted: it was celebrated on the 23d of April.

[10] To come down to the Forum to obtain the dictatorship.

eum, qui, ne quid tale in re publica fieri posset, effecerit. An ego, qui Catilinam haec molientem sustulerim, everterim, afflixerim, ipse exsisterem repente Catilina? Quibus auspiciis istos fasces augur acciperem?[1] quatenus haberem? cui traderem? Quemquamne fuisse[2] tam sceleratum, qui hoc fingeret? tam furiosum, qui crederet? Unde igitur ista suspicio vel potius unde iste sermo?

6. Cum, ut scitis, hoc triduo vel quatriduo tristis a Mutina fama manaret, inflati laetitia atque insolentia impii cives unum se in locum, ad illam curiam[3] viribus potius suis quam rei publicae infelicem congregabant. Ibi cum consilium inirent de caede nostra partirenturque inter se, qui Capitolium, qui Rostra, qui urbis portas occuparent, ad me concursum futurum civitatis putabant. Quod ut cum invidia mea fieret et cum vitae etiam periculo, famam istam fascium dissipaverunt: fasces ipsi ad me delaturi fuerunt. Quod cum esset quasi mea voluntate factum,[4] tum in me impetus conductorum hominum quasi in tyrannum parabatur; ex quo caedes esset omnium vestrûm consecuta. Quae[5] res patefecit, Patres conscripti; sed suo tempore totius hujus sceleris fons[6] aperietur. Itaque P. Appuleius, tribunus plebi, meorum omnium consiliorum periculorumque jam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adjutor, dolorem ferre non potuit doloris[7] mei; contionem habuit maximam populo Romano unum atque idem sentiente. In qua contione cum me pro summa nostra conjunctione et familiaritate liberare suspicione fascium vellet, una voce cuncta contio declaravit nihil esse a me unquam de re publica nisi optime cogitatum. Post hanc habitam contionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii

[1] I, as an augur, should be obliged to give the lie to the auspices, or explain them falsely, if I were to declare them favourable to such an undertaking.

[2] To *fuisse* supply *credibile est*.

[3] This is probably the curia of Pompey, which was more injurious to the power of the Antonians than to the state—namely, by the murder of Caesar, which took place in it.

[4] Namely, the bringing of the fasces and the badges of the dictatorship into my house.

[5] *Quae*; that is, *quae consilia*; and *res* is the same as *res ipsa*, 'the thing itself revealed all.'

[6] The originators of it all were Fufius Calenus and Fulvia.

[7] *Dolorem doloris*, an expression of the same kind as *laetitia pugnax* in chap. 1.

et litterae venerunt; ut idem dies non modo me iniquissima invidia liberarit, sed etiam celeberrima populi Romani gratulatione auxerit.

Haec interposui, Patres conscripti, non tam ut pro me dicerem (male enim mecum ageretur,[1] si parum vobis essem sine defensione purgatus), quam ut quosdam nimis jejuno animo et angusto monerem, id quod semper ipse fecissem, uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam, non invidia putarent. Magnus est in re publica campus, ut sapienter dicere Crassus[2] solebat; multis apertus cursus ad laudem.

7. Utinam quidem illi principes viverent, qui me post meum consulatum, cum iis ipse cederem, principem non inviti videbant! hoc vero tempore in tanta inopia constantium et fortium consularium[3] quo me dolore affici creditis, cum alios male sentire, alios nihil omnino curare videam, alios parum constanter in suscepta causa permanere sententiamque suam non semper utilitate[4] rei publicae, sed cum spe, tum timore moderari? Quod si quis de contentione principatus laborat, quae nulla esse debet, stultissime facit, si vitiis cum virtute contendit; ut enim cursu cursus, sic in viris fortibus virtus virtute superatur. Tu, si ego de re publica optime sentiam, ut me vincas, ipse pessime senties? aut, si ad me bonorum concursum fieri videbis, ad te improbos invitabis? Nollem; primum rei publicae causa, deinde etiam dignitatis tuae. Sed, si principatus ageretur, quem nunquam expetivi, quid tandem mihi esset optatius?[5] Ego enim malis sententiis vinci non possum, bonis forsitan possim, et libenter. Haec populum Romanum videre animadvertere, judicare quidam moleste ferunt. Poteratne fieri, ut non perinde homines de quoque, ut quisque mereretur, judicarent?[6] Ut enim de universo senatu populus Romanus verissime judicat nullis rei publicae temporibus hunc ordinem firmiorem atque fortiorem fuisse: sic de unoquoque

[1] 'I should be badly off.'

[2] This is L. Crassus, the celebrated orator.

[3] Cicero in one of his letters says: *egregios consules habemus sed turpissimos consulares.*

[4] 'According to the advantage' or 'interest of the republic.'

[5] These words imply that Cicero felt himself strong enough for it.

[6] The answer here is: *certe judicant.*

nostrûm, et maxime, qui hoc loco sententias dicimus, sciscitantur omnes, avent audire, quid quisque senserit; ita de uno quoque, ut quemque meritum arbitrantur, existimant. Memoria tenent, me ante diem XIII. Kalendas Januarias[1] principem revocandae libertatis fuisse; me ex Kalendis Januariis[2] ad hanc horam invigilasse rei publicae; meam domum measque aures dies et noctes omnium praeceptis monitisque patuisse; meis litteris, meis nuntiis, meis cohortationibus omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriae praesidium excitatos; meis sententiis a Kalendis Januariis nunquam legatos[3] ad Antonium; semper illum hostem, semper hoc bellum;[4] ut ego, qui omni tempore verae pacis auctor fuissem, huic essem nomini pestiferae pacis inimicus; idem Ventidium,[5] cum alii praetorem, tribunum Volusienum, ego semper hostem. Has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere[6] voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa senatus jam pridem de manibus arma cecidissent.

8. Sed, quod tum non licuit, Patres conscripti, id hoc tempore non solum licet, verum etiam necesse est, eos, qui re sunt hostes, verbis notari,[7] sententiis nostris hostes judicari. Antea cum hostem[8] aut bellum nominassem, semel et saepius sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt;[9] quod in hac causa[10] jam fieri non potest. Ex litteris enim C. Pansae, A. Hirtii, consulum, C. Caesaris, pro praetore,[11] de honore diis immortalibus habendo sententias dici-

[1] That is, on the 20th of December B. C. 44, on which day Cicero had delivered his third Philippic.

[2] On the kalends of January he had delivered his fifth Philippic.

[3] To *legatos* supply *missos esse;* whereby Antony was already treated as an enemy of his country.

[4] *Hoc bellum*—namely, *Mutinense;* supply *flagitari*, or *a me flagitatum esse;* and to *hostem*, *appellari* or *a me appellatum esse.*

[5] P. Ventidius Bassus was a friend of Cicero until he joined Antony; he is often mentioned in other speeches: 'I always considered Ventidius, whom others recognised as praetor, and C. Volusienus Quadratus (see Caes. *Bell. Gall.* iii. 5, 60; viii. 23) as enemies of their country.' We have to supply, as above, *appellavi* or *censui.*

[6] *Discessionem facere*, equivalent to *sequi.*

[7] *Notare*, 'to brand,' as above *notae inustae*, chap. 3.

[8] To whom *hostem* here alludes is uncertain. *Bellum;* namely, which he considered to be necessary against some enemy.

[9] As they did not vote for my proposal.

[10] To *hac causa* supply *Antonii.*

[11] As *pro praetore* stands in the same relation as *consulum*, *proprastoris* would, according to our feeling, have been more natural; but *pro prae-*

mus. Supplicationem modo qui decrevit, idem imprudens hostes judicavit;[1] nunquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est: decreta dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est. Civile bellum consul Sulla gessit; legionibus in urbem adductis, quos voluit, expulit; quos potuit, occidit;[2] supplicationis mentio nulla. Grave bellum Octavianum[3] insecutum est; supplicatio Cinnae nulla victoris. Cinnae victoriam[4] imperator ultus est Sulla; nulla supplicatio decreta a senatu. Ad te ipsum, P. Servili, num misit ullas collega[5] litteras de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalica? num te de supplicatione voluit referre? Profecto noluit. At misit postea de Alexandrea, de Pharnace. Pharsalicae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit. Eos enim cives pugna illa sustulerat, quibus non modo vivis, sed etiam victoribus, incolumis et florens civitas esse posset. Quod idem contigerat superioribus bellis civilibus. Nam mihi consuli[6] supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito genere decreta est. Quamobrem aut supplicatio ob rem publicam pulcherrime gestam postulantibus nostris imperatoribus, Patres conscripti, deneganda est, quod praeter Gabinium[7] contigit nemini; aut supplicatione decernenda hostes eos, de quibus decernitis, judicetis necesse est.

9. Quod ergo ille[8] re, id ego etiam verbo, cum imperatores

tore, like *pro consule*, is treated as an indeclinable expression, and may be added to any case.

[1] For a *supplicatio* has never yet been decreed, except on the occasion of a victory over a real enemy. *Imprudens*, 'unwittingly,' is to be taken ironically.

[2] All this happened in B. C. 87, before Sulla set out for the war against Mithridates.

[3] This is the war between Cn. Octavius and Cinna, in which Cinna fled from Rome, and having been joined by C. Marius, returned to Rome and killed Octavius.

[4] After Sulla's return from Asia, in B. C. 82, he acted with inhuman cruelty towards the party of Marius.

[5] C. Julius Caesar was the colleague of P. Servilius Vatia in the consulship of B. C. 48.

[6] Compare Cic. *in Cat.* iii. 10.

[7] The *supplicatio* had been refused to A. Gabinius by the senate, because he had badly conducted the administration of the province of Syria in B. C. 56; accordingly, the generals of Mutina cannot be compared with him.

[8] *Ille* is P. Servilius, and *re* is *supplicatione*, 'by his *supplicatio*.' To *verbo* we must supply the verb *efficio*, or *impetrare volo*.

eos appello: hoc ipso nomine[1] et eos, qui jam devicti sunt, et eos, qui supersunt, hostes judico, cum victores appello imperatores. Quo modo enim potius Pansam appellem! Etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi. Quo[2] Hirtium? Est ille quidem consul: sed alterum[3] nomen beneficii est populi Romani, alterum virtutis atque victoriae. Quid? Caesarem deorum beneficio rei publicae procreatum dubitemne appellare imperatorem? qui primus Antonii immanem et foedam crudelitatem non solum a jugulis[4] nostris, sed etiam a membris et visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei[5] quot et quantae virtutes, dii immortales, fuerunt! Princeps enim omnium Pansa proelii faciendi et cum Antonio confligendi fuit: dignus imperator legione Martia,[6] digna legio imperatore. Cujus si acerrimum impetum[7] cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno proelio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrenatius in aciem hostium irrupisset ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis volneribus acceptis sublatus e proelio rei publicae vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum imperatorem judico: qui, cum aut morte aut victoria se satis facturum rei publicae spopondisset, alterum[8] fecit, alterius dii immortales omen avertant!

10. Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui re audita e castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute, quartam illam,[9] quae relicto Antonio se olim cum Martia legione

[1] That is, by my calling them *imperatores*.

[2] To *quo* supply *modo* from the preceding sentence.

[3] The first *alterum* refers to his being consul, the second to the title of *imperator*.

[4] *A jugulis* refers simply to the contemplated murder; but *a membris et visceribus* to the tortures preceding the murder.

[5] That is, of the 15th of April, when the first battle was fought.

[6] The *legio Martia* was one of the two legions which revolted from Antony and went over to Octavianus. On the advice of Fulvia, Antony had put to death, at Brundisium, several centurions of this legion, which consisted of the choicest soldiers.

[7] The fury and impetuosity of this legion, on the advance of Antony's cavalry, are mentioned in other passages also.

[8] *Alterum*—that is, *victoriam*; *alterius*—namely, *mortis*. Pansa died of his wounds at Bononia on the 28th of April, the sixth day after the present speech—that is, the day after the second battle in which Hirtius fell.

[9] See above, chap. 2.

conjunxit, et septimam, quae constituta[1] ex veteranis, docuit hoc proelio militibus iis, qui Caesaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse aquilam quartae legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus equitatuque conflixit hostesque nefarios huic Jovis optimi maximi ceterisque deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostrae vitae sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit, ut cum admodum paucis nocte tectus, metu perterritus princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O solem ipsum beatissimum, qui, antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium! An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? Aetas[2] ejus certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit aetatem. Ac mihi semper eo majora beneficia C. Caesaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab aetate illa postulanda; cui cum imperium dabamus, eodem tempore etiam spem ejus nominis[3] deferebamus; quod cum est consecutus,[4] auctoritatem nostri decreti rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque proelium[5] fecit. Ita trium imperatorum populi Romani virtute, consilio, felicitate uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata.

11. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis verbis consequi potero, complectar ipsa sententia.

Est autem fidei pietatisque nostrae declarare fortissimis militibus, quam memores simus quamque grati. Quam-

[1] Namely, by Octavianus; it followed him *auctoritate beneficiorum paternorum.*

[2] Octavianus was then twenty-one years old.

[3] That is, *imperatoris.* The soldiers, after the battle, saluted him as *imperator.* Cicero means to say that the senate, in conferring upon him the *imperium*, at the same time entertained the hope that Octavianus would deserve the title of *imperator.*

[4] Namely, from the soldiers.

[5] On the same day (the 15th of April) three different battles were fought: two near Forum Gallorum, and the third in the immediate vicinity of Mutina.

obrem promissa nostra, atque ea, quae legionibus bello confecto tributuros nos spopondimus, hodierno senatus consulto renovanda censeo. Aequum est enim militum, talium praesertim, honorem conjungi.[1] Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere nobis praemia liceret! quamquam nos ea, quae promisimus, studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus;[2] quibus senatus fides praestatur;[3] quam quoniam difficillimo rei publicae tempore secuti sunt, eos nunquam oportebit consilii sui poenitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum iis, a quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari[4] videbimur: illud admirabilius et majus maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum[5] virtutem memoria prosequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! Duo certe non praeteribo, quae maxime occurrunt; quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam; alterum ad leniendum maerorem et luctum proximorum.

12. Placet igitur mihi, Patres conscripti, legionis Martiae militibus et eis, qui una pugnantes occiderunt, monumentum fieri quam amplissimum. Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rem publicam hujus merita legionis. Haec se prima latrocinio abrupit[6] Antonii; haec tenuit Albam;[7] haec se ad Caesarem contulit; hanc imitata quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta victrix desiderat neminem; ex Martia nonnulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors, quae naturae debita, pro patria est potissimum reddita! Vos vero patriae natos judico, quorum etiam nomen a Marte est; ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga, foeda[8] mors est; in victoria, gloriosa. Etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortis-

[1] That is, also to mention the brave soldiers in the *supplicatio* by which the generals are to be honoured.

[2] The *victores* here are 'the living,' as opposed to those, *qui pro patria vitam profuderunt*.

[3] Who have in their hands the solemn promise of the senate, which we this day renew.

[4] Namely, to reward them, even if they claim nothing.

[5] *Eorum* refers to the soldiers.

[6] *Abrupit*, see above, chap. 2.

[7] That is, Alba Longa in Latium, elsewhere called *propinqua*.

[8] *Foeda* is the predicate to *mors*.

simum quemque pignerari[1] solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent; vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura nobis vita data est: at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam haec vita, quis esset tam amens, qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque contenderet? Actum igitur praeclare vobiscum, fortissimi, dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi[2] milites, quod vestra virtus nec oblivione eorum, qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum insepulta esse poterit, cum vobis immortale monumentum suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus exstruxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis[3] clari et magni fuerunt; nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam majora possemus, quandoquidem a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertistis; vos redire molientem reppulistis. Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaeque litterae, divinae virtutis testes sempiternae; nunquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.

13. Sed quoniam, Patres conscripti, gloriae munus optimis et fortissimis civibus monumenti honore persolvitur, consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est haec quidem consolatio: parentibus, quod tanta rei publicae praesidia genuerunt; liberis, quod habebunt domestica exempla virtutis; conjugibus, quod iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quam lugere praestabit;[4] fratribus, quod in se ut corporum, sic virtutum similitudinem esse confident. Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris consultisque possemus, vel aliqua talis iis adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent maerorem atque luctum gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus genera

[1] The war-god Mars selects for himself the bravest in the battle; he takes them to himself, as if they were his children.

[2] Because they have fallen for their country, and dwell in the abodes of the blessed.

[3] This alludes more especially to the wars with the Samnites, and with Pyrrhus of Epirus.

[4] *Praestabit*, equivalent to *melius* or *optatius erit*.

mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse eosque nec inhumatos esse nec desertos, quod tamen[1] ipsum pro patria non miserandum putatur: nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos, sed contectos[2] publicis operibus[3] atque muneribus eaque exstructione, quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara Virtutis! Quamobrem maximum quidem solatium erit propinquorum eodem monumento declarari et virtutem suorum et populi Romani pietatem et senatus fidem et crudelissimi memoriam belli, in quo, nisi tanta militum virtus exstitisset, parricidio M. Antonii nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, Patres conscripti, quae praemia militibus promisimus nos re publica recuperata tributuros, ea vivis victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda; qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

14. Sed, ut aliquando sententia[4] complectar, ita censeo: Cum C. Pansa, consul, imperator, initium cum hostibus confligendi fecerit; quo proelio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit, quod idem legiones tironum[5] fecerint; ipseque C. Pansa, consul, imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, volnera acceperit; cumque A. Hirtius, consul, imperator, proelio audito, re cognita fortissimo praestantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit, impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, ejusque copias occidione occiderit,[6] suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem desiderarit; cumque C. Caesar, pro praetore, imperator, consilio diligentiaque sua castra feliciter defenderit copiasque hostium, quae ad ea castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas res senatum existimare[7] et judicare eorum

[1] Even if they remained unburied, it would not be right to lament, since they have fallen for their country.

[2] *Contectos* here is opposed to *dispersis*, and signifies, 'enclosed all together.'

[3] That is, *monumento amplissimo*.

[4] *Sententia*, 'the formula of a bill,' or 'of a decree.' Cicero himself furnishes the form in which he wishes the decree of the senate to appear.

[5] Alludes to the four legions levied in Italy by C. Pansa.

[6] This mode of expression may have been customary in such decrees.

[7] *Existimare* is dependent upon *censeo*, at the beginning of the chapter.

trium imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum: cumque rem publicam, urbem, templa deorum immortalium, bona fortunasque omnium liberosque conservarint dimicatione et periculo vitae suae, uti ob eas res bene fortiter feliciterque gestas C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, consules, imperatores, alter ambove aut, si aberunt, M. Cornutus, praetor urbanus, supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria[1] constituat: cumque virtus legionum digna clarissimis imperatoribus exstiterit, senatum, quae sit antea pollicitus legionibus exercitibusque nostris, ea summo studio re publica recuperata[2] soluturum; cumque legio Martia princeps cum hostibus conflixerit atque ita cum majore numero hostium contenderit, ut plurimos caederent, caperent nonnullos; cumque sine ulla retractatione[3] pro patria vitam profuderint; cumque simili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro salute et libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: senatui placere, ut C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, consules, imperatores, alter ambove, si eis videatur, iis, qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunis populi Romani, pro urbe, templis deorum immortalium profudissent, monumentum quam amplissimum locandum faciundumque curent; quaestores urbani, ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere[4] jubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam, ad scelus crudelissimorum hostium, militumque divinam virtutem; utique, quae praemia senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus; iisque tribuantur, quae militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si illi vixissent, qui morte[5] vicerunt.

[1] *Pulvinaria*, equivalent to *templa*.

[2] After the restoration of peace, or of the *status quo*.

[3] *Sine retractatione;* that is, *sine tergiversatione*, 'without hesitation.'

[4] This is the usual expression when payments were made by the quaestores urbani.

[5] 'In and by their death.'

PRO A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO.

A. LICINIUS ARCHIAS, born and educated at Antioch in Syria, a city renowned for the cultivation of Greek art and learning, acquired at a very early age a considerable reputation as a poet. He had scarcely grown out of the age of boyhood, when, according to the fashion of the time, he went out on a journey, the object of which was to improve himself and increase his knowledge. He travelled through Asia Minor and Greece, and thence to Southern Italy, where he visited the towns of Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, and Naples. His talent was everywhere recognised and appreciated, and the above-mentioned towns attested their estimation by honouring him with the franchise. In B. C. 102, in the consulship of C. Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus, Archias came to Rome; he was received into the first families of the city, and enjoyed the particular hospitality of the Luculli, in honour of which family Archias also assumed its gentile name Licinius. As Cicero calls him his instructor, it would seem that Archias, besides his poetical occupations, also engaged at that time in instructing young Romans. Some years later, he accompanied L. Lucullus on a journey to Sicily, and on their return they passed through Heraclia in Lucania. There, too, he was, through the mediation of Lucullus, honoured with the franchise; and this was the more valuable to him, as that town was in a nearly equal legal relation to, and alliance with, Rome, and as Archias seems to have determined to spend the remainder of his life at Rome. In B.C. 92, the tribunes M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo brought forward a bill (*lex Plautia Papiria*) by which the franchise was conferred upon all those who were enrolled as citizens in an allied town, provided they had a domicile in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and gave in their name to the praetor within sixty days. Archias fulfilled these conditions, and gave in his name for registration to the praetor Q. Metellus. But in B. C. 65, a law was passed (*lex Papia*), enacting that all *peregrini*, or strangers, should be expelled from Rome, and that the *Socii Latini* (who were not Roman citizens) should be sent away to their native places. On that occasion a certain Gratius, who may have been induced by hatred, or avarice, or by enmity against Lucullus, came forward, asserting that Archias was a *peregrinus*, and had illegally assumed the name of a Roman citizen. Archias was unable to bring forward any evidence of his franchise, for the archives of Heraclia had been destroyed by *fire:* during his long stay at Rome, moreover, he had never entered

his name as a citizen in the census lists. Cicero now undertook the defence of his old teacher and friend; not, indeed, with a strict legal argumentation, for the proofs were wanting, but he sets up the dignity of the accused, the affection he had met with everywhere, and his services to literature and art, as so many proofs of the truth of his assertion that he was in lawful possession of the Roman franchise; nay, Cicero maintains that if Archias were not already a Roman citizen, his life and merits made it a duty for Rome to admit him among the number of her citizens, in order to secure a man of such eminence to the commonwealth. Such a defence, which Cicero sought in the personal character of the accused, and laid before the judges, who could not well sacrifice the cause of learning and humanity to such an accusation—such a defence could not so much urge the legal points at issue, for which, as we have already observed, the documents were wanting, as set forth the praise of varied acquirements, and of a life devoted to the cultivation of the beautiful. And it is this very praise of the *humaniora* that makes this speech a useful, agreeable, and inciting study to young readers; though it must not be left unnoticed that some critics consider it as spurious, and unworthy of Cicero; and the ancients themselves regard it as less excellent than other orations. Respecting the result of the speech, which was delivered in B.C. 62 before Q. Cicero, who was then praetor urbanus, nothing is known, and the remaining period of Archias' life is buried in utter obscurity. To judge from the few specimens of his poetry which have come down to us, it appears that he did not possess so very great a poetical talent as Cicero describes it in his oration; and it is probable that Archias, who was intimate with so many Roman families, was more particularly skilled in making verses upon the passing events of the day, and also, as some believe, knew how to make himself agreeable by improvisation, or extempore composition of verses.

Si quid est in me ingenii,[1] judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio[2] aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis[3] hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet.[4] Nam quoad

[1] *Ingenium*, 'natural talent as an orator' (*φύσις*); *exercitatio*, 'practice' (*ἄσκησις*).

[2] *Ratio*, 'art,' 'theoretical knowledge,' 'theory' (*μάθησις*).

[3] 'Particularly,' because Archias had given instruction to young Cicero.

[4] That is, Archias has a right to claim that I should employ for his good that which I have learned from him.

longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque[1] repetens hunc video mihi principem[2] et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quodsi haec vox[3] hujus hortatu praeceptisque conformata nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; a quo id accepimus, quo[4] ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus,[5] huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita[6] dici forte miretur, quod alia quaedam in hoc facultas[7] sit ingenii neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio[8] penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent,[9] habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

2. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur me in quaestione legitima[10] et in judicio publico, cum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani,[11] rectissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices[12] tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone[13] abhorreat: quaeso a

[1] *Inde usque*, stronger than *inde* alone: 'just from that point.' *Memoria ultima*, 'the earliest recollection.' *Revocare*, 'to revive.'

[2] *Princeps* here is equivalent to *auctor* or *magister;* and *ratio* is *via* or *modus.*

[3] *Haec vox;* supply *mea:* 'my oratory.'

[4] *Quo*, equivalent to *ut eo.* See *Gram.* § 360, 1.

[5] Namely, whenever an opportunity should offer itself.

[6] *Ita;* that is, *tam graviter*, 'so emphatically.'

[7] Because Archias was a poet, and not an orator.

[8] To *studio* supply *dicendi* or *eloquentiae. Penitus*, 'exclusively,' or 'without regard to other pursuits and means of developing the mind.'

[9] 'Which make man a man in the true sense of the word.'

[10] The investigation was a legal one, because it was instituted in accordance with the lex Plautia Papiria of B.C. 89, by which the allies of Italy, with the exception of the Samnites and Lucanians, obtained the franchise. *In judicio publico*, 'in a public court,' to which every person had access, and in which any one, for the interest of the state, might come forward as accuser.

[11] The addition *populi Romani* to the title *praetor* is generally unnecessary, but here it is emphatical. The praetor here meant is Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator. *Rectus* is one who looks only to the law and what is right.

[12] Ever since the lex Aurelia of the year B.C. 70, the judices consisted of senators, equites, and tribuni aerarii (plebeians).

[13] It being unusual in judicial transactions and speeches to treat of *humaniora.*

vobis, ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quemadmodum spero, non molestam, ut me pro summo poëta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem hoc concursu hominum litteratissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paullo loqui liberius et in ejusmodi persona,[1] quae propter otium ac studium minime in judiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adsciscendum.[2]

3. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit[3] Archias atque ab iis artibus, quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet,[4] se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiae (nam ibi natus est loco nobili), celebri[5] quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaque Graecia sic ejus adventus celebrabantur,[6] ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. Erat Italia tunc[7] plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem[8] rei publicae non negligebantur. Itaque

[1] Namely, as Archias is, *qualis Archias est:* 'in the case of such a person.' Otherwise *persona* is the mask worn by an actor, or the part which he performs. *Tractata est*, 'which otherwise is not brought forward,' or, as it were, 'acted,' and does not show itself at trials and in courts of law, its life being devoted to the quiet pursuit of art and literature. *Personam tractare*, 'to act a part' or a 'character.'

[2] Namely, by a decree of the people, and to enrol him in the *tabulae*.

[3] This happened in Greece in his fifteenth year.

[4] Namely, poetry, oratory, and history.

[5] *Celeber*, 'populous.' *Copiosa*, equivalent to *opulenta*.

[6] His arrival was so much talked of, that the expectation of the man and the desire to see him surpassed the reputation of his talent, whereas his arrival and the admiration shown to him surpassed even the expectation with which his arrival had been looked for.

[7] It was especially after the Punic wars that Greek civilisation began to be introduced into Italy.

[8] This refers to about the period from B.C. 100 to 90, when the Social War broke out.

hunc et Tarentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani[1] civitate ceterisque praemiis donarunt; et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta celebritate famae cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo.[2] Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas,[3] alter cum res gestas,[4] tum etiam studium[5] atque aures adhibere posset. Statim Luculli,[6] cum praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed etiam hoc non solum ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis, ut domus, quae hujus adolescentiae prima patuit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. Erat temporibus illis jucundus Metello illi Numidico[7] et ejus Pio filio; audiebatur a M. Aemilio;[8] vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio; a L. Crasso colebatur; Lucullos vero et Drusum[9] et Octavios[10] et Catonem[11] et totam Hortensiorum[12]

[1] These are three of the most celebrated cities in Southern Italy (*Magna Graecia*) and Campania, which, on account of their very origin, must have been favourably disposed towards the Greek poet, and endeavoured to honour him with the best presents—namely, the franchise.

[2] That is, in the fourth consulship of Marius, in B. C. 102.

[3] Namely, his celebrated victory over the Teutones, and in the year following that over the Cimbri.

[4] The military exploits of Catulus are not very great, for he was, as proconsul, obliged to retreat before the Cimbri. Otherwise he was, according to Cicero, a *vir doctus et disertus* and *exquisito litterarum judicio*.

[5] Catulus could show to Archias a zeal and interest in his pursuits, for he was himself a poet, and we still possess two epigrams by him.

[6] That is, L. Licinius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, and a man of great learning, and M. Licinius Lucullus, who gained a triumph over the Thracians and Macedonians in B. C. 71. *Praetextatus* is used in the sense of *adolescentulus;* for, being a Greek, Archias was not allowed to wear the praetexta.

[7] Metellus Numidicus was consul in B.C. 109, and conquered Jugurtha of Numidia. See Sallust, *Jug.* 46. His son, Q. Caecilius Metellus, obtained the surname of Pius, because in B. C. 100 he appeared in mourning to solicit permission for his father to return from exile.

[8] M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul in B. C. 115. Q. Catulus was consul in B.C. 102, and L. Crassus, the celebrated orator, in B. C. 95.

[9] M. Livius Drusus was tribune in B. C. 91, and carried many laws, but was murdered in his own house.

[10] One son of Cn. Octavius, consul in B. C. 87, who was killed by L. Cornelius Cinna, and another Cn. Octavius, who was consul in B. C. 76.

[11] M. Cato, tribune of the people, and father of Cato Uticensis.

[12] Namely, L. and Q. Hortensius, father and son; the latter was the celebrated orator, and consul in B.C. 69.

domum devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte simulabant.

4. Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam[1] profectus et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracliam.[2] Quae cum esset civitas aequissimo jure ac foedere,[3] adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque, cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia[4] Luculli ab Heracliensibus impetravit. Data est civitas[5] Silvani lege et Carbonis, *Si qui foederatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent, si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent, et, si sexaginta diebus*[6] *apud praetorem essent professi.*[7] Cum hic domicilium Romae multos jam annos[8] haberet, professus est apud praetorem, Q. Metellum,[9] familiarissimum suum. Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius:[10] causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracliaene esse tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, L. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus judicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc

[1] It is uncertain whether Lucullus was in Sicily as praetor, or whether he made use of his *jus legationis liberum* (see *Phil.* i. 2) for a private purpose; the latter, however, is more probable.

[2] *Heraclia*, a colony of Tarentum in Lucania on the Bay of Tarentum.

[3] Namely, with Rome. Heraclia concluded an alliance with Rome as early as the year B.C. 278, in the consulship of C. Fabricius, and obtained greater privileges than other towns, such as Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples; hence *aequissimo*, 'placing it in a most fair relation, in which it was almost equal to Rome.' This was also the reason why Archias endeavoured to obtain the franchise of Heraclia.

[4] 'From affection and esteem for Lucullus.'

[5] Namely, not only to Archias, but to all who lived in Italy under the same circumstances.

[6] 'Within sixty days after the passing of the law.'

[7] The name was sent to the praetor, because the whole business of keeping lists of the citizens formed part of his official functions.

[8] Namely, from B.C. 102 to 89.

[9] This is Q. Metellus Pius, who was praetor in B.C. 89.

[10] That is, if the question is only about the compliance with that law on the part of Archias, and about his franchise at Heraclia, all has been said, and the matter is settled; for Archias has in fact complied with all the conditions stated in the law.

adscriptum Heracliensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas[1] desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quae habemus, nihil dicere, quaerere, quae habere non possumus, et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare; et, cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii[2] jusjurandum fidemque,[3] ea, quae depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. An domicilium [Romae] non habuit? qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romae collocavit? An non est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis[4] professus, quae solae ex illa professione[5] collegioque praetorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

5. Nam cum Appii[6] tabulae negligentius asservatae[7] dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit,[8] levitas, post damnationem calamitas,[9] omnem tabularum fidem resignasset,[10] Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium,

[1] The *tabulae*, or civic registers of Heraclia, had been burnt with the archives (*tabularium*) at the time of the Social War.

[2] That is, *Heracliae*, which, according to these words, must, previously to the delivery of this speech, have been changed from a *civitas foederata* into a *municipium*. Heraclia remained faithful to Rome during the Social War, whence it is called *integerrimum municipium*. But it had much to suffer for this.

[3] To *fidemque* supply *legatorum*.

[4] Namely, *Metelli*. *Quae solae* in antithesis to the records of Appius and Gabinius mentioned below.

[5] Which, ever since that registration, and since the time of the then college of praetors, alone have the authority of public records. The reason is added immediately below.

[6] Appius Claudius, praetor in B.C. 89, was the father of the notorious P. Clodius.

[7] So that forgeries might easily be introduced into them. Gabinius was praetor in the same year as Appius, and was afterwards found guilty of extortion in his province of Achaia.

[8] 'So long as he was free from misfortune.'

[9] By his condemnation he lost his wealth, being obliged to sell his property in order to repay what he had extorted and embezzled. From this we see that the lists of citizens were accessible also to persons who were not praetors, so that forgeries might easily be made. Gabinius entered names for money in order to restore his ruined affairs; or we must take *calamitas* in the sense of *damnatio*, and translate: 'So long as he was in office, his recklessness, but after his condemnation his difficulties, destroyed the authenticity of those lists.'

[10] *Resignasset*, equivalent to *evertisset, corrupisset:* it properly signifies 'to unseal the lists,' then to open them for the purpose of making forgeries.

tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum[1] praetorem et ad judices venerit[2] et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis. Quae cum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, praesertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim cum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte praeditis gratuito civitatem in Graecia[3] homines impertiebant, Rheginos credo[4] aut Locrenses aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus[5] largiri solebant, id huic summa ingenii praedito gloria noluisse. Quid? cum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam,[6] sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, rejicietur? Census[7] nostros requiris. Scilicet: est enim obscurum proximis[8] censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum[9] fuisse, superioribus[10] cum eodem[11] quaestore fuisse in Asia, primis,[12] Julio

[1] L. Lentulus was praetor in the same year, B.C. 89.

[2] See Zumpt, § 512, note.

[3] That is, *in Magna Graecia*, in Southern Italy.

[4] *Credo* is used ironically, and in this sense it is rarely followed by the accusative with the infinitive.

[5] Acting on the stage, music, and dancing, were regarded by the Romans as ignoble arts, which ought to be practised by slaves, and not by freemen. Sallust, *Cat.* 4.

[6] Namely, to the four cities mentioned above. When this happened is uncertain, though it must have been previous to the *lex Papia*, which was carried in B.C. 65, by the tribune C. Papius. It enacted that all strangers who regarded themselves as Roman citizens, and all the citizens of allied towns which had not yet become *municipia*, should be expelled from the city. In consequence of this, many strangers got their names entered in the lists of municipia, in order to be able to pass as Roman citizens. The above-mentioned four cities must have become municipia before that time.

[7] *Census* is the counting and estimating the Roman citizens according to their property: this was usually done every five years (*lustrum*); but from B.C. 86 to 70 there had been no census.

[8] That is, the last censors, of the year B.C. 70; namely, Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius.

[9] Namely, in the Mithridatic war, which Lucullus carried on from B.C. 73 to 67.

[10] These are the censors of B.C. 86, L. Marcius Philippus and M. Perperna. Supply *obscurum est*.

[11] That is, L. Lucullus, who, from B.C. 88 to 80, was in Asia as quaestor and proquaestor, with Archias and his brother M. Lucullus.

[12] The *primi* (*censores*) are those of the year B.C. 89; that is, imme-

et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam.[1] Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat ac tantummodo indicat eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive: iis temporibus, quem[2] tu criminaris ne ipsius quidem judicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum[3] saepe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficiis[4] ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo proconsule.

6. Quaere argumenta, si quae potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo neque amicorum judicio revincetur.[5]

Quaeres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio[6] defessae conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis[7] esse deditum. Ceteros pudeat, si qui se ita litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex iis neque ad communem afferre fructum neque in adspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid[8] pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut a nullius

diately after Archias had given in his name to the praetor, and had obtained the Roman franchise.

[1] Because it was not yet five years since the census of B. C. 92, and because they had been elected censors only for the purpose of distributing the allies, who had obtained the franchise, into ten new tribes. It is not probable that Archias gave in his name on that occasion; because, having resided at Rome for a long time, he might hope to be admitted among the old tribes.

[2] That is, *iste Archias, quem.*

[3] Roman citizens alone were allowed to make a will, or be made heir of a Roman citizen; a proof that Archias considered himself to be a Roman citizen (*suo judicio*).

[4] That is, *in iis, qui beneficia merentur, deferri*, 'to be recommended as one deserving rewards.' The proconsuls and propraetors were obliged, within three days after their return to Rome, to mention those who had done good service to the state, and might therefore expect rewards or promotion. The names, with the recommendations, were then deposited in the treasury; but this does not prove that the rewards consisted in money.

[5] That is, *convincetur*, 'he will never be convinced that his judgment, and that of his friends, is unfounded and false.'

[6] *Convicium*, the shouting and quarrelling of the orators and parties at a trial; hence also *strepitus forensis.*

[7] *His studiis;* namely, *forensibus*, in addition to my literary pursuits.

[8] *Quid*, in the sense of *cujus rei causa*; but see *Gram.* § 281, note.

unquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit aut denique somnus retardarit? Quare quis tandem me reprehendat aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas;[1] quae, quantacunque est in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quae summa sunt,[2] ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. Nam nisi multorum praeceptis multisque litteris[3] mihi ab adolescentia suasissem nihil esse in vita magnopere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilia parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem.[4] Sed pleni[5] sunt omnes libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quae jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum[6] lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt? Quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

7. Quaeret quispiam: Quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine

[1] To *facultas* supply *dicendi*.

[2] 'That which is the highest that man can attain;' namely, principles to guide him in practical life.

[3] *Litterae*, 'literary occupation;' *praecepta*, 'instruction.'

[4] It is more common to say, *se objicere alicui* than *se objicere in aliquid;* but *impetus* is not used in the dative and ablative plural.

[5] Supply *praeceptorum*. *Sapientium* depends upon *voces*, and *exemplorum* upon *vestustas*.

[6] *Litterae* here are 'literary records.'

doctrina naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor: etiam illud adjungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere exsistere; ex hoc esse[1] hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum;[2] ex hoc C. Laelium,[3] L. Furium,[4] moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, Catonem[5] illum senem, qui profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quodsi non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem[6] humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceterae[7] neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum; at haec studia adolescentiam acuunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

Quodsi ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus.

8. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii[8]

[1] *Esse* depends upon the preceding *contendo*.

[2] That is, Scipio Africanus Minor, whose eloquence and intellectual culture are praised by Cicero in other passages also.

[3] C. Laelius, surnamed Sapiens, was a friend of Scipio.

[4] L. Furius Philus possessed a profound knowledge of the Latin language, and was a good orator; he was consul in B.C. 136.

[5] Cato, surnamed Censorius, or Sapiens, was a great orator, who learned Greek at a very advanced age, and wrote many works. He was censor in B.C. 185, consul in 195. Cicero has called his treatise, 'De Senectute' after him, and made him one of the interlocutors in it.

[6] *Animi adversio*, 'tendency' or 'direction of the mind,' 'mental occupation.'

[7] Namely, those of a more practical nature; the object of which is not solely the ennobling of the mind, but by which we may make ourselves useful to our country and our fellow-men.

[8] Roscius had acquired such a perfection in his acting on the stage, that his name became proverbial for any one distinguished in his art or profession. Cicero himself elsewhere owns that he had learnt much from Roscius, especially in reference to delivery.

morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: hos[1] animorum incredibiles motus[2] celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices (utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi[3] tam diligenter attenditis), quoties ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum[4] eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis![5] Quae vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem? Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et praeceptis et arte constare, poëtam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius[6] sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtae nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent; bestiae[7] saepe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non

[1] The common reading for *hos* is *nos*, which gives almost a better sense, and at anyrate is more oratorical, as opposed to *ille*.

[2] 'Activity of the soul' refers, in the first place, to Archias; but the plural *animorum* and *ingeniorum* renders the thought more general; and to this *nos* is better suited, though *hos* may be equivalent to *hujusmodi* or *tales*.

[3] The *novum genus dicendi*, is the encomium which he is going to pronounce upon poetry and the arts, which, as such, has nothing to do with the trial.

[4] 'When he was encored.'

[5] Supply *vidi Archiam dicere*.

[6] Ennius, a native of Rudiae in Calabria, flourished in the time of the Second Punic War, in which he served as a centurion, and of which he composed a poetical history. He also wrote tragedies, satyric dramas, and a eulogy on the elder Scipio Africanus; but we have only fragments of his works. He died in B. C. 169.

[7] This alludes to the all-enchanting songs of Orpheus. See Ovid, *Met.* x. 189.

poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum[1] Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii praeterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt.

9. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? praesertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam. Nam et Cimbricas res[2] adolescens attigit et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad haec studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum facile praeconium patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse ajunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, 'quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: ejus, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur.' Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium[3] dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quae gesserat, posse celebrari. Mithridaticum vero bellum magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum totum ab hoc expressum[4] est: qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura regionis vallatum: populi Romani exercitus eodem duce non maxima manu[5] innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi Romani laus est urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum ejusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio atque totius belli ore ac faucibus erep-

[1] Cicero here mentions only four towns which claimed the honour of being Homer's birthplace. A Greek verse mentions seven.

[2] That is the victory of Marius over the Cimbri. *Attigit*, equivalent to *scribere coepit, inchoavit*. Compare chap. 11.

[3] L. Plotius Gallus taught rhetoric at Rome about B. C. 83, and also wrote poetry.

[4] 'Was celebrated in poetry by him' (Archias); not, however, the whole (*totum*) of that war, but only the exploits of Lucullus, from B. C. 73 to 67. Cn. Pompey had his eulogist in the person of Theophanes of Mitylene.

[5] Namely, 10,000 heavy-armed men against 200,000 Armenians, of whom Tigranes was so proud, that he said of the advancing Romans—'If they come as ambassadors, they are rather numerous, but if as *soldiers*, few.'

tam esse atque servatam : nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur L. Lucullo dimicante cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis et incredibilis apud Tenedum[1] pugna illa navalis: nostra sunt tropaea,[2] nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi; quae, quorum ingeniis efferuntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius; itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore.[3] At iis laudibus certe non solum ipse, qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In caelum hujus[4] proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii[5] non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.[6]

10. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracliensem multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac[7] autem legibus constitutum de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea, quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus,[8] Latina

[1] *Tenedos*, an island in the Ægean.

[2] *Tropaea*, 'marks of places where victories have been won.' They consisted of arms piled upon one another, or suspended on pillars or trees. *Monumenta*, artificial monuments, such as columns or inscriptions. The triumphs here alluded to are those of Lucullus, for Pompey's triumph was not celebrated till after the time of this speech.

[3] The tomb of the Scipios outside the porta Capena was believed to contain a statue of Ennius besides those of Scipio Africanus major and minor; but the tomb of the Scipios, discovered in 1780, contained no such statues.

[4] *Hujus* refers to Cato Uticensis, who was present at the trial. Respecting the elder Cato, see chap. 7.

[5] These are the most celebrated Roman generals in the Second Punic War: Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse (B. C. 212), and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the conqueror of Capua in B. C. 211.

[6] *Decorantur*, equivalent to *celebrantur;* namely, by Ennius in his annals.

[7] *In hac;* that is, at Rome itself. Ennius had obtained the Roman franchise through M. Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of the Aetolians (B. C. 189), who had led a colony to Rudiae.

[8] Namely, through their colonies, and through the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek language had spread over the coasts of the Mediterranean, and throughout the Eastern world.

suis finibus,[1] exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eae, quas gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare; quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla[2] sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et laborum. Quam multos scriptores[3] rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum in Sigeo[4] ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, *O fortunate*, inquit, *adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!* Et vere: nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus,[5] qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit; et nostri illi fortes viri,[6] sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriae commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt? Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit.[7] Sulla, cum Hispanos donaret et Gallos,[8] credo, hunc petentem repudiasset; quem nos in contione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poëta de populo[9] subjecisset, quod epi-

[1] That is, is limited to Latium; since even in the neighbouring Etruria a different language was spoken. The expression, however, is nevertheless oratorical.

[2] *Amplus*, 'honourable,' 'glorious.'

[3] Scarcely anything of the writings of these companions of Alexander has come down to us.

[4] Sigeum, a promontory on the coast of Troy, with the Ἀχίλλειον, the reputed tomb of Achilles.

[5] That is, Cn. Pompey, who was surnamed the Great. Theophanes accompanied him on his expeditions in the East. Only a few epigrams of his have come down to our time.

[6] The *fortes viri* are the soldiers of Pompey; *nostri* is here used with emphasis and pride.

[7] *Non potuit* must be taken ironically; the meaning is: any imperator would have been happy to make him a citizen. What follows is to be taken in the same sense.

[8] *Hispanos et Gallos;* Cicero elsewhere mentions a certain Aristo of Massilia, and several persons of Gades (Cadiz).

[9] *Poëta de populo* is said like *homo de plebe;* that is, an obscure, unknown poet. *Subjecisset* intimates that he did it secretly and timidly.

gramma in eum fecisset tantummodo[1] alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei praemium tribui, sed ea condicione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali poëtae duxerit aliquo tamen praemio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui praesertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubae[2] natis poëtis pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum tamen aures suas dederet.

11. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed prae nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in iis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus,[3] summus vir et imperator, Accii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum[4] ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit Fulvius[5] non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare.[6] Quare, in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, judices,

[1] 'Which consisted only of verses,' *alternis pedibus*, hexameters and pentameters, but was not poetry. Ennius called the hexameter a long verse, to which Cicero seems to allude by the word *longiusculis*.

[2] *Corduba*, the modern Cordova in Spain. What poet or poets are meant here is unknown. *Pingue—peregrinum*, 'in whose language there was something rude (awkward, unpoetical) and foreign or provincial;' they could not write pure Latin.

[3] Decimus Brutus was consul in B.C. 138; he conquered the Lusitanians and Gallaecians in Spain, whence he obtained the surname of Gallaicus. Accius was his friend, and a rival of the poet Pacuvius: he composed more particularly tragedies.

[4] Some here understand the temple of Mars, others private sanctuaries of D. Brutus, upon which he caused the Saturnian verses of his friend to be inscribed.

[5] Respecting Fulvius, see chap. 9.

[6] He made use of the booty which, as it were, belonged to Mars, for building the temple of the Muses.

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indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriae nimis acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto vobis confitebor. Nam, quae res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit;[1] quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum adjuvi. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat praeter hanc laudis et gloriae; qua quidem detracta, judices, quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo et tam brevi tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? Certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas: nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita[2] dimicaret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimo quoque virtus, quae noctes ac dies animum gloriae stimulis concitat atque admonet non cum vitae tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam.

12. An vero tam parvi animi[3] videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quae gerebam, jam tum in gerendo[4] spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec [vero] sive a meo sensu[5] post mortem afutura est sive, ut sapientissimi[6] homines putaverunt, ad aliquam animi mei

[1] Though, as far as we know, without completing it.

[2] *De ipsa vita*, equivalent to *pro ipsa vita*, and not as above, chap. 10, where *de vita* means, 'with defiance of death.'

[3] *Parvus animus*, 'a narrow mind,' which does not take the future into consideration.

[4] That is, *jam tum, quum gerebam.*

[5] 'From my perception.' *Haec* refers to *memoria sempiterna.*

[6] Such as Pythagoras and Socrates, who taught the immortality of the soul.

partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis conprobari cum dignitate, tum etiam vetustate,[1] ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis; causa vero ejusmodi, quae beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quae cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit; qui etiam his recentibus nostris[2] vestrisque domesticis periculis aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur; isque est eo numero,[3] qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. Quae de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quae non fori neque judiciali consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter[4] de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; ab eo,[5] qui judicium exercet, certe scio.

[1] *Vetustate*, equivalent to *vetere consuetudine*.

[2] This alludes to the Catilinarian conspiracy, which had been suppressed the year before.

[3] *Eo numero* in this sense is less usual than *ex eo numero*.

[4] *Communiter*, 'in general,' without any special reference to the case of Archias.

[5] To *ab eo* (that is, *Q. Cicerone, fratre meo*) supply *accepta esse*.

FINIS.

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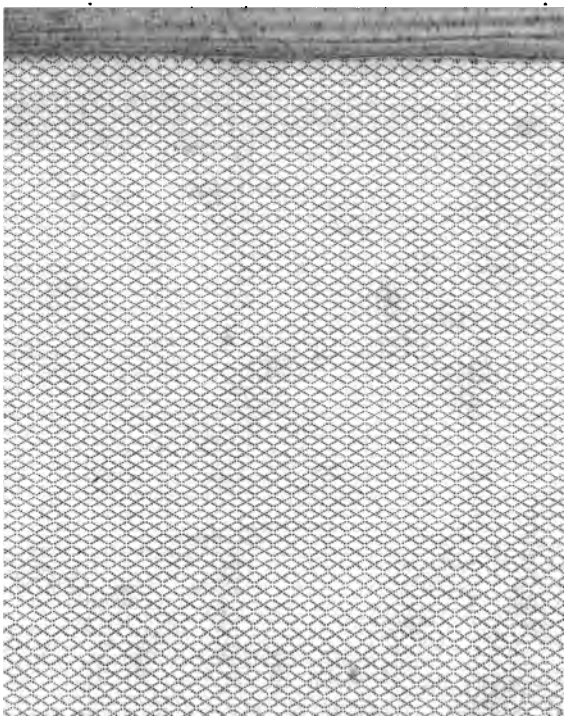

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